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FRANCIS BACON

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

FROM THE "RESUSCITATIO," 1657

FRANCIS BACON

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, WORKS
AND LITERARY FRIENDS; CHIEFLY FROM
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL POINT OF VIEW

BY

G. WALTER STEEVES, M.D.

WITH FORTY-THREE ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IN placing this little volume before the public, no more is presumed or attempted than is indicated by its title, viz. a sketch of the chief events in the life of Bacon, freed as much as possible from general historical detail, followed by a "classification" and short description of Bacon's chief works, together with certain considerations bearing on his Life and Letters.

It is hoped that the reproduction of the selected title-pages, etc., which have been introduced may not only serve as "object lessons," but altogether add to the general interest of the subject.

The "classification" of the different works has been modelled on that already adopted in many previous treatises, with such variations and additions as will best carry out the object in view. I have thought it well to add some remarks on the intimate friends of Bacon; and to refresh the memories of those who have not recently referred to the period, the chief incidents in the lives of a few of these have been alluded to. In this connexion I have endeavoured to utilize such quotations, letters, etc., as not only illustrate those ties of friendship which existed between Bacon and his

literary associates, but which, at the same time, exhibit his style and art in such communications.

The idea of issuing such a publication, which should serve more especially as a *bibliographical record*, was suggested to my mind by certain difficulties that I experienced some years ago when I first began to make a serious study of Bacon's work. Even at the present day I strongly suspect that there may be not a few, interested in such literary pursuits, who find it difficult to obtain the privileges of a great library, or gain access to those rare and early editions which sweeten the toil of the bibliophile and bibliographer alike. Such students not only very frequently waste much time which might be avoided, but direct their energies in a channel which often proves misleading and disappointing.

During the past few years the attention of readers has been much attracted towards the literature of Bacon, and probably as an incentive the Bacon-Shakespeare discussion has in no small degree contributed. It is not my intention to enter the argumentative arena of those interesting and "disputed facts," dealing with the authorship of certain dramatic and poetic works: indeed, those who look for controversial food in these pages will, I fear, meet with disappointment. Nevertheless, I am glad to have this opportunity of adding that if in the prosecution of such studies, whatever the motive, the public are led to take a deeper interest in the great literature of the Elizabethan period,

especially that of Bacon and Shakespeare, then such disputes have not altogether been in vain.

One may truly say that the attempt to write a short Life of Bacon is beset with many difficulties, not only on account of the unusual personal qualities and eccentricities of the man, but also because his whole life was so full of historical interest and detail. To study such a life in its completeness one must necessarily turn to the actual pages of history, in which may be found all those events and conditions which served as the impulses of his actions and tested his moral character. Therefore while I am deeply conscious of my responsibility and the feebleness of the present effort, I would wish at the same time to emphasize the fact that my object has in no wise been to add to, or supplant in any way, those larger works whose comprehensiveness and usefulness it is here my chief purpose and duty to recommend.

In the consideration of the *Works*, if more attention has been given to some than may seem necessary, or, on the other hand, the space devoted to the larger, and what are usually considered greater, publications of Bacon appears relatively and unnecessarily curtailed, it has not been because the latter have been deemed less important, but rather that a few of the less known and smaller compositions have not hitherto received their due.

As a matter of fact, many editions of the great philosophical works, issued with copious explanatory

notes, are always accessible; besides, it would be quite beyond my present purpose to attempt a disquisition on them; my object being to endeavour to *point out the way* to those who are on the threshold of a study which is full of interest, whether approached from a purely literary, bibliographical, or psychological point of view, and if these few pages assist such inquirers in any small degree, the pleasant "recreations" of my leisure moments have been profitably chosen.

I wish to add my grateful acknowledgments to those whose names will be found in different portions of this book, and whose work on the subject has been of the greatest service in the preparation of it. Finally, I would express my indebtedness to many biographical treatises, especially the *Dictionary of National Biography*, from whose pages I have gathered much valuable information relating to the subject.

G. WALTER STEEVES.

9, CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.

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FRANCIS BACON

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE

FRANCIS BACON was born at York House on 22 January, 1561. At the bottom of Buckingham Street, in the Strand, and facing the Embankment gardens, still stands the ancient "York Water Gate," which nearly marks the site of the old homestead; and this interesting gateway, designed for the Duke of Buckingham by Inigo Jones, was formerly used as the approach to York House from the Thames. Here was the residence of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, a man who in his day was held in high esteem on account of his profound learning and wisdom. His mother, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward the Sixth, was one of the most scholarly and accomplished ladies of the day, and according to William Rawley, "eminent for piety, and virtue, and learning, being exquisitely skilled for a woman in the Greek and Latin Tongues." She is now remembered chiefly for her faithful translation of Bishop Jewell's *Apology for the Church of England*, and it is interesting to notice that this work of hers was so

esteemed for its accuracy that it "was published for common use in 1567, by the special order of Archbishop Parker." In this connexion, one may be permitted to add, that in a summary of what was proposed to be done in the Convocation of 1562, it was decided that Newel's Catechism, then completed, but not yet published, and Jewell's *Apology*, "lately set forth, should be joined with the articles of religion which were to be prepared in one book, and by common consent authorized as containing true doctrine." It may not be generally known that this identical translation of the *Apology of the Church*, by Lady Anne Bacon, is still printed and circulated by the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." Possessing parents, therefore, of such recognized ability and attainments, Bacon entered the arena of life under the most favoured and happy conditions.

He very early showed evidences of an inquiring mind and, indeed, intelligence and precocity much beyond his years. This attracted the attention of all around him, and it is said that Queen Elizabeth delighted to call him her "Young Lord Keeper." As an indication of his youthful wit, it is recorded that on one occasion the Queen, on asking him how old he was, received the reply, "Just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign." Dr. Rawley says: "His first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency; at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit; as they were presages of that deep and universal apprehension which was manifest in him afterwards"; and Arch-

An Apologie

or answere in defence of the

Churche of Englande,

with a briefe and plaine

declaration of the true

Religion professed

and vsed in

the same.

Londini, Anno Domini

M. D. LXIIII.

bishop Tenison speaks in like manner: "It is observed that in his tender years, his pregnancy was such, as to give great indication of his future high accomplishments." When quite a child we find him interested in the laws of sound; and, among other curious investigations, attempting to discover the *cause of an echo.* Many such instances foreshadowed unusual intelligence and genius; and the intellectual atmosphere of his home would tend to foster and develop this.

In the year 1573, being then only thirteen years of age, he was sent, with his brother Anthony, to Trinity College, Cambridge. It was not long before we find him showing his dissatisfaction with the teaching system of the University; for the promotion of knowledge on the old conservative lines was not congenial to his inquiring and progressive mind. Consequently he soon manifested an aversion to the philosophy of Aristotle—according to his dictum—"barren for the production of works for the benefit and use of man." We gather that his views attracted little friendly sympathy, and this need not surprise us when we consider the period, and mental attitude of young Bacon.

From his tutor Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, we learn next to nothing. It is quite evident, however, from other sources of information, that Bacon's intellectual horizon, even then, was not to be limited by the existing philosophic dogmas of the University. He altogether distrusted its academic methods, and though we know so little of him here, we may infer that at this stage of his career he planned some of those schemes which he lived to unfold in subsequent years.

During his residence in college the irresistible bent of his mind in the direction of Natural Philosophy became more pronounced, and when he left Cambridge he carried with him "a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious."

Of Dr. Whitgift, the Master of Trinity, we know little that is creditable. He seems to have been a mean time-serving prelate, whose aspirations and duplicity would scarcely escape the keen observation of Bacon; indeed, such an experience would serve as a valuable object lesson in determining certain phases of character to be moulded and utilized by him later on in life.

In the year 1576 he left Cambridge without taking a degree, having been in residence three years; and both he and his brother were at once entered at Gray's Inn, *de societate magistrorum*. We next find him in Paris, whither his father had sent him under the care of Sir Amias Paulett, the English Ambassador at that Court. He at once exhibited marked diplomatic ability, and was soon entrusted with important missions—even one to the Queen—on which he was highly commended. Indeed, he gave every promise here of a distinguished career.

It was at this time that he invented his cypher-writing system, the importance of which has of late so prominently been brought before the public, more especially in relation to the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. One can readily understand that his intention was to utilize this method in his diplomatic capacity. The reference to this may be found in his *Augmentis Scientiarum*, Lib. VI: "Ut vero suspicio omnis absit, aliud invertum subjiciemus, quod certe cum adolescentali

essemus Parisiis excogitavimus, nec etiam adhuc visa nobis eis digna est quae pereat."

After leaving Paris he travelled into the provinces of France, and we also have good evidence that he visited Italy, especially Rome, still further extending his observations on such subjects as "The force of imagination," "Secret passages of sympathy between persons of near blood," and upon *Echoes*, a subject which seems to have had a peculiar fascination for him.

On the death of his father in 1580 he was hurriedly called back to England. His contemplations were thus suddenly cut short, and he found himself face to face with the stern realities of life. On his return he was disappointed to find his eldest brother in possession of the estate, only a small portion having been allotted to himself. It is evident that at this time Bacon, on account of his slender income, was obliged to postpone those pursuits and studies most dear to him. He received no assistance from his uncle Lord Burghley, then Prime Minister, and it was plain that this nobleman was not desirous to promote the interests of his nephew when the welfare of his own son was his chief concern.

That Bacon was in sore monetary straits at this time we have good evidence, as several letters exist written by him to Lord and Lady Burghley soliciting their influence and assistance. These communications were humble, and almost servile, and tell a sad story. He now diligently pursued his legal studies, soon being called to the Bar. He became Member of Parliament for Melcombe Regis in 1584, and also sat for Liverpool in 1589. It was during his membership for the former

constituency that he wrote his *Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth*, probably in the year 1584. The minds of the people were just then much exercised over various important religious questions, especially those which might in any way affect Protestantism. Bacon did not fail to see that such sectarian troubles as already existed were likely to assume serious proportions, and he therefore took the opportunity of advising the Queen on the policy he desired her to follow and the attitude he was wishful she should adopt towards those—the Recusants, as they were then styled—who would not uphold her religious supremacy. With the House of Commons Puritanism had no little influence, and the Queen was not desirous that any change in the formalities of the Church should take place. In this treatise Bacon pronounced his views both as regards the Catholics and the Puritans. He declared that the former were Elizabeth's enemies, and "that whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely the Pope, that should in any way invade Her Majesty's dominions, should be a traitor." At the same time he emphasizes his feelings towards the "preachers," remarking, "I am provoked to lay at your highness's feet my opinion touching the preciser sort"; and he adds that he is "not addicted to their preciseness." No doubt Bacon was anxious to prevent hostile religious feeling among the people during the Queen's reign; at the same time he desired to see an end to the Catholic influence. The interesting historical details of this movement cannot be continued here. It is only necessary to add that, as far as Bacon himself was concerned, he feared the influence of the Papists on the State, and was anxious

that all disloyal religious sentiment should be suppressed.

In 1588 he was sworn "Queen's Counsel Extraordinary," and five years later (1593) he became Member of Parliament for Middlesex. Very soon after, when the House was summoned, increased supplies were demanded on account of the difficulties arising out of one of those serious Popish plots which had come to light. Naturally the House of Commons undertook to deal with such *financial* questions; but the Lords insisted on interfering with their rights, both as to the main issue of increased subsidy itself, and also the conditions of all the proposals under consideration. Bacon took a prominent part in the discussions now raised, and did not hesitate to emphasize his objections to the action of the Lords, feeling that the propositions and suggestions of the Upper House were quite out of place and ill-advised. Though he acted in perfectly good faith, his views were not understood or well received, and it is said that not only the Court, but even the Queen showed her annoyance at the utterances he then made.

He had previously procured the Registership of the Star Chamber, but the latter carried no emolument with it. Though it was said to be worth £1600 a year, it brought nothing to him immediately; in Bacon's words, "it was like another man's ground buttailing upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barns." It now became evident to all that his parliamentary career was destined to become one of success and distinction. His eloquence impressed the House at once, as it did the judges in the

court and all who listened to him, Ben Jonson and many of his time fully testifying to this.

Let us now briefly refer to an event which, though domestic in character, is of further importance on account of the action and solicitude of the Earl of Essex on behalf of Bacon's private concerns.

The wealthy widow of Sir William Hatton, and daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, became the engrossing object of Bacon's attentions, and though he had proposed to her, he had received scant encouragement. Sir Edward Coke, who henceforward was to prove Bacon's chief antagonist and enemy, and indeed who had already, in 1594, been promoted over his head to the position of Attorney-General, now appeared as a rival for the hand of this alluring lady. Bacon was refused, and the rich and prosperous Coke preferred, in spite of his "seven objections—his six children and himself." It must now be pointed out that, in his anxiety to gain this lucrative prize, Bacon employed Essex in the furtherance of his cause; and the latter, then on the eve of his expedition to Cadiz, was thus addressed by Bacon: "My suit to your Lordship is for your several letters to be left with me dormant to the gentlewoman and either of her parents. Wherein I do not doubt but, as the beams of your favour have often dissolved the coldness of my fortune, so in this argument your Lordship will do the like with your pen." We have no record of Essex's intervention with the heiress, but he wrote to Sir Thomas Cecil, enlarging on the "virtues and excellent parts" of Bacon, and his qualifications—professional and otherwise—using indeed every persuasion. He addressed somewhat similar

letters to Lady Cecil and others who he thought might favour the suit.

Bacon had the satisfaction later on of knowing that Coke's union with this gilded widow was a very unhappy one. There can be little doubt but that Bacon hoped to replenish his pocket by such a marriage, but again he had been outwitted by his crafty opponent. This is one of the instances which demonstrate the unselfish kindness of Essex towards Bacon, and it is worthy of notice.

Bacon now became closely attached to the Earl of Essex, and apparently possessed a deep regard and close feeling of friendship for him; while Essex implicitly trusted Bacon, and was ever ready to render him any affectionate service within his power. Their ideals, however, were widely separate; and one is driven to the conclusion that the attachment of the former existed, for the most part, as a means for the accomplishment of selfish ends, though, at the same time, it is only fair to add, as subsequently stated by Bacon, that Essex may have been considered "the fittest instrument to do good to the State—therefore I applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men."

On the other hand, the relations between Lord Burghley and Bacon were less cordial. No doubt the Cecils were jealous that he should ally himself in any manner with Essex, and this feeling was very evident when the office of Solicitor-General became vacant. On this occasion Essex used every endeavour for his friend, but they had to face disappointment, and the influence of the Lord Keeper, or Burghley and Robert Cecil, or

possibly the combined voices of the three, were too strong with the Queen.

Then came a fine act of liberality on the part of Essex. He presented Bacon with a magnificent estate at Twickenham, a consolation which must have been most acceptable. For here, from time to time, he was able to retire from the public gaze and indulge in those literary pursuits which appealed more to him than all his legal and parliamentary duties, and, indeed, were always uppermost in his mind.

During the year 1597, when the *Essays* first appeared, his literary reputation became greatly enhanced, and so widespread was their popularity that translations into Latin, Italian, and French soon followed. This *first* edition contained only ten essays, and was reprinted the following year. Several subsequent editions came before the public until it reached its complete form (fifty-eight essays) in 1625, the year before the author's death.

The unfortunate position in which the Earl of Essex found himself through his faulty administration of Irish affairs and his impetuous and unstatesmanlike conduct at home soon brought about his utter downfall.

There can be no doubt that Bacon strongly advised him not to undertake the Irish leadership, but his expostulations were of no avail, and in March, 1599, Essex left London for Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant, and it is a matter of history how lamentably the entire expedition was conducted. As we know, it terminated in complete failure and in the disgrace of Essex. Naturally Bacon's position was a difficult one. He earnestly desired to befriend Essex, and he dare not

risk the Queen's displeasure. The advice which he gave Essex on his arrival from Ireland was such as one would expect in the circumstances, knowing Elizabeth's susceptibilities and eccentricities as he did. And in spite of all, as he tells us, Essex acted contrary to his wishes on every point.

On the other hand, when Essex was committed and afterwards stood his trial, Bacon's attitude can never be altogether excused. He knew full well that however tactless as an administrator, however impetuous and wanting in caution as a soldier Essex may have been, no crime had been perpetrated that called for the scaffold.

It is contended by some, however, that by disregarding the express commands of his Sovereign in Ireland, and the reckless management of his troops there, the Queen was obliged to treat Essex as a criminal offender. However we view this question, it is impossible for us to reconcile the behaviour of Bacon, and the vehement and quite unnecessary attacks he made in the prosecution of one who had many times befriended him, and who had frequently incurred enmity on his account. It is difficult to think that Bacon only acted thus in order that the public should profit by his own achievements and advancement; nor, indeed, is it necessary to infer that his professional position enforced such a course on him. Here all the conditions of the case were quite exceptional. When he found he could produce no impression, in favour of Essex, on the Queen privately, he might have nobly stood aside altogether and left the prosecution to other hands.

Essex was executed. Bacon was scorned by many

for his attitude in this case, and for a time the Queen even became unpopular. She now felt that some step should be taken to remove the prevailing doubts of her subjects as to the justification of the whole proceeding. She knew well that no one could help her more effectually than Bacon; so she ordered him to publish a pamphlet, and it appears he was ready to do this. This tract was styled: *A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex and his Complices, against Her Majestie and her Kingdoms;* and thus, in the words of Macaulay, he "exerted his professional talents to shed the Earl's blood and his literary talents to blacken the Earl's memory."

Soon after James the First came to the throne Bacon received his knighthood, in spite of the unfavourable public feeling existing against him at the time; for the tragedy of Essex was not soon forgotten. Lord Southampton, who had been imprisoned in the Tower with Essex, was now released, much to the delight of his friends, but it was difficult for Bacon personally to congratulate him, so he addressed a servile and apologetic letter to him, in which the following sentence occurs: "This great change has wrought in me no other change towards your Lordship than this, that I may safely be that to you now, which I was truly before." We have no record of a reply from Southampton; but we may at least conjecture his feelings!

Bacon now, knowing that there still existed much animosity against him on account of the part he took in the trial of Essex, addressed to the Earl of Devonshire his well-known *Apology in certain Imputations*

A DECLARATION of the Practiſes & Treaſons attempted and committed by *Robert* late Earle of *Eſſex* and his Complices, againſt her Maieſtie and her Kingdoms, and of the proceedings as well at the Arraignments & Conuictions of the ſaid late Earle, and his adherents, as after:

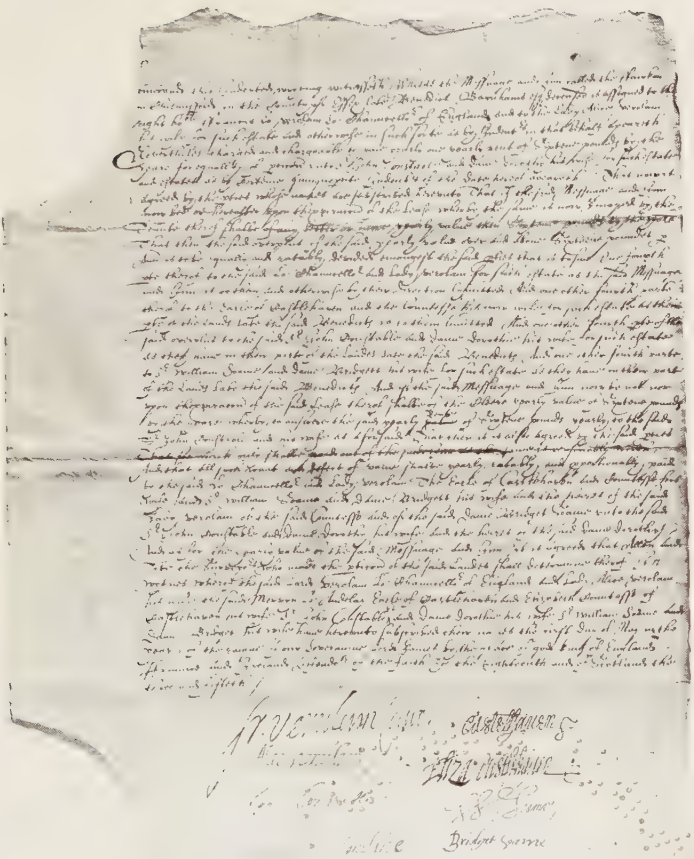
Together with the very Confeſſions and other parts of the Euidences themſelues, word for word taken out of the Originals.

(***)

¶ Imprinted at London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.

(***)

ANNO 1601.



DOCUMENT CONTAINING THE SIGNATURES OF BACON, HIS WIFE AND OTHERS

concerning the late Earl of Essex. In this he really made out a bad case for himself; for the excuse that he acted as "mere Secretary," and that the affair involved him in no personal responsibility, he having acted only according to the Queen's bidding, in no wise absolves him from blame. Those who attempt to justify the "Apology" lay much stress on the relations that had previously existed between Bacon and Essex—the neglected advice; the headstrong actions; the want of consideration towards the Queen, etc. on the part of Essex: that in view of all this and more, it was only right that Bacon should plainly announce such details as had not previously been laid before the public. The majority of readers, however, will probably concur in the opinion that it would have been better had such an Apology never appeared at all, as it in no way strengthens Bacon's case or palliates his conduct.

It was not long before Bacon found favour with his new sovereign. He was appointed King's Counsel in 1604, with a fee of £40 a year, and in addition £60 a year was settled on him for "Special Services." His marriage to Alice Barnham, the daughter of a wealthy alderman and Cheapside merchant, took place in May, 1606. Their union does not seem to have been a very congenial one, though we actually know little as regards their domestic relations. He received the Solicitor-Generalship in 1607, and five years later was made Attorney-General. He was, indeed, reaching the summit of his ambition. He occupied a most prominent position in Parliament, conducting important cases here, as well as in the Exchequer Chamber — such as the memorable and historical case of the "Post-Nati of

Scotland." The part he took in this, and his method of handling it, added very much to his reputation, and though the legality of the judicial decision may be called in question, as Macaulay points out, "the beneficial effect must be acknowledged, and was in a great measure attributed to his dexterous management." At the same time he had finished his *Advancement of Learning*, which was published in 1605, and a few years later (1609) the *Wisdom of the Ancients* appeared. In the year 1617 he received the appointment of Lord Keeper of the Great Seals.

There had always been a strong feeling of hostility between Bacon and Sir Edward Coke, and though the latter was by no means a light comparable to Bacon in his intellectual acumen, he was, beyond doubt, the strongest legal advocate of the day. The fact that he had been promoted to the positions of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General many years before had, together with other provocations of jealousy, embittered Bacon to such a degree that he at once deprived Coke of his office of Chief Justice, and his name was erased from the list of Privy Councillors.

Bacon conducted many painful cases in the Star Chamber. This was a Court of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction at Westminster, and was of very ancient origin. Its powers became much abused, however, and in the reign of Charles the First it was altogether abolished. Of the many cases that came before him here, some were so important that permanent records have been preserved. There is the charge against certain persons for the crime of duelling. Another, against a Mr. Oliver St. John, who wrote various letters

SIR FRANCIS BACON HIS APOLOGIE, IN CERTAINE imputations concerning the late *Earle of Eſſex.*

VVritten to the right Honorable his very good Lord, the Earle *of Deuonſhire, Lord Lieutenant* of Ireland.

LONDON,
Printed for FELIX NORTON and are to be ſold in Pauls church-yard at the ſigne of the Parot. 1604.

against the King, and one in particular stating that he had violated his Coronation oath by unjustly levying Benevolences. But among all such cases brought before Bacon in this Chamber, one has always been singled out as reflecting much discredit on him. It was that of a Mr. Peacham, an old clergyman nearly seventy years of age, who was arraigned on a charge of treason for a sermon that he never preached or published. This poor old man, while in torture on the rack, was examined by Bacon, and no confession was forthcoming. He was convicted, however, and though the sentence was not executed, he was allowed to pass the remainder of his days in prison, and to die there.

The case of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was poisoned in the Tower in 1613, was a very interesting one, more especially on account of the fact that the Earl and Countess of Somerset were concerned in the tragedy. All these Star Chamber cases are carefully chronicled, but as far as one can ascertain very few of them were published as separate tracts, either at this time or at a later date.

In 1618 Bacon became Lord High Chancellor of England, with the title Baron Verulam; and the year following, Viscount St. Albans. Whenever he could free himself from his professional and parliamentary duties, he would retire to his beautiful and luxurious country seat at Gorhambury, where he lived in great pomp. Everything was here conducted in a most liberal and lavish spirit; nothing was wanting that might conduce to his happiness and peace of mind. For his gratification "musique was provided in the next room where he meditated," and "every meal,

according to the season of the year, he had his table strewed with sweet herbs and flowers which he said did refresh his spirits and memorie." All the appointments of the establishment and estate were on the same scale. The servants dare not approach him without their Spanish boots, and always wore livery adorned with his crest. He was reckless in his extravagance, and little wonder that he was never free from debt.

All this seems like further evidence of the contradictory character of the man, for at the same time he used this quiet retreat for meditation and literary work. At this period of his career he was continually adding to and translating his essays, and finishing his great work, the *Novum Organum.*

The year 1620 was an important one in the history of Bacon, for it may be said that at this date he actually reached the pinnacle of his fame and prosperity. He had risen to great power through occupying the highest administrative positions in the land. His speeches and work had been applauded by the public, and his literary reputation had spread far beyond the limits of his own country. His residences, both in London and Gorhambury, were kept in a state befitting royalty itself. It seemed that all his ambitions had surely been realized.

In the same year his *Novum Organum* was published. This colossal work had been his special study for many years, and indeed we marvel that a man, constantly engrossed with legal problems, parliamentary anxieties, and grave State concerns, could have compiled such a grand philosophic fabric, the first book of which is, according to Macaulay, his "greatest

performance." Bacon, no doubt, considered himself that this was his *maximum opus*, for he took unusual care in the writing and preparation of it, and we are told by Rawley, his chaplain and biographer, that he had seen "twelve autograph copies of it corrected and improved." It was at once welcomed and admired by all scholars in England, but probably more especially by men of letters abroad, for, according to Rawley, "his fame is greater and sounds louder in foreign parts than at home in his own nation."

The celebration of his sixtieth birthday in January of this year was an interesting event. It took place at York House in company with many old friends, and we find Ben Jonson among them. He composed a poem in honour of the day, which has been preserved, and in which the following lines appear :—

> . . . . This is the sixtieth year
> Since Bacon, and thy Lord was born and here,
> Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal,
> Fame and foundation of the English weal.

But a sudden and tragic fall from the high pedestal on which he stood was soon to prostrate him, and it is now necessary to briefly record the saddest event in his memorable life. That the catastrophe which darkened his latter days came as a great surprise to him there can be no doubt, and indeed little or no warning of his overthrow seems to have reached him. At first there was a cloud of murmur and suspicion that some form of corruption was permitted in the public service. It was not long before Coke, who was now the head figure in Parliament, vigorously began an inquiry, and soon the House of Commons recom-

mended that the Lords should deal with such an important matter.

Bacon had an intimation from the King as to what was going on, but he had every confidence in his own unassailable position, particularly as he reckoned on the unwavering support of James and Buckingham. At the same time he knew what to expect from Coke's animosity should an opportunity arise for this old enemy to press any charges likely to injure him.

A Committee from the House of Commons was now appointed to inquire into "The Abuses of Courts of Justice" (March, 1620). It was not long before the unhappy Lord Chancellor found himself charged with corruption, and special cases were immediately brought forward against him. Many accusers were not slow to press the charge of bribery; a certain person Aubrey, among others, who affirmed that he had presented his lordship with a gift of £100. Another suitor, Egerton, had made him a presentation of £400, as well as valuable plate. Bacon was obliged to answer to all the special charges against him. He acknowledged himself guilty of corruption, but justified many of his acts by alleging that he received the gifts *after* judgment, or as New Year's gifts, etc.

It was an accepted practice in those days for judges to accept presents and fees, and it has been suggested by Mallet that Bacon had doubtless been courted in this manner by certain persons who "afterwards received a verdict unfavourable to their expectations." These would take the opportunity of appearing as accusers. During the investigations Bacon was confined to his

house through illness. By many it was thought that his indisposition was pretended, and that he dare not face his judges.

A Committee from the Lords then waited on him at his residence, and to their question, whether the signature to the confession were his, he replied, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart; I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed!"

He was at once relieved of the Great Seal, and when the Commission arrived to receive it, his answer was, "By the King's great favour I have received the Great Seal; by my own great fault I have lost it."

No proof of his innocence could be suggested or maintained by the King or Buckingham, or even by himself, so none was attempted. The Lords declared him guilty, as was expected, and he was sentenced to "a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, to be incapable of holding any public office, and of sitting in Parliament, or of coming within the verge of the Court," but he was not deprived of his titles of nobility; the bishops saved him from this indignity. He was sent to the Tower, but only detained in prison one day, and the fine was subsequently remitted.

Not being allowed to live near London, he now retired to his country seat at Gorhambury. Buckingham was extremely anxious to acquire York House for his own residence, and through the agency of friends eventually became possessed of it, though the method and intrigue employed reflected small credit on him and the other parties concerned. He intimated to Bacon, through his friend Sir Edward Sackville, that his liberty depended

on this sacrifice. One cannot vouch for the truthfulness of this assertion.

Bacon wrote to the Lords appealing for his complete liberty, adding that he was "weak, ruined, in want, a very subject of pity." Bishop Williams, his successor to the office of Lord Keeper, was not favourable to his cause, and the favour shown to Bacon by James in assisting him in his pecuniary difficulties met with the Bishop's disapprobation. It was not till the year before the King's death (1624) that the sentence was completely pardoned.

We are not surprised that his health was affected by this judgment, but his spirits were not totally crushed, and we find his indomitable energy shown in a letter to the King which ran as follows: "This is my last suit which I shall make to your Majesty in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy seat, after fifteen years' service, wherein I have served your Majesty in my poor endeavours with an entire heart, and, as I presumed to say unto your Majesty, am still a virgin for matters that concern your person and crown; and only craving that after eight steps of honour, I be not precipitated altogether. But because he hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes. For if your Majesty will give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present your Majesty with a good history of England, and a better digest of your laws."

In spite of the degradation and ignominy lately heaped upon him, his ever active mind was still alert, the unquenchable ambition again asserting itself, and the happy allusion to bribes in the above letter showed that his wit had not forsaken him.

The King's confidence in Bacon's opinion on questions of law and general administration remained unshaken. A few months after his freedom, James consulted him respecting the reform of the Courts of Justice, and Bacon, taking courage, makes overtures to the King as to his reinstatement and employment. He never again, however, acted in a public capacity.

In his retirement we find him still pursuing his studies, and writing various pamphlets and letters, some of which have been preserved. Two of these tracts, entitled *Some Considerations touching a War with Spain*, and *An Advertisement touching a Holy War*, were written for Buckingham, and are supposed to be a kindly acknowledgment for his offices in relieving him of the final portion of his sentence.

But the important work which issued from his pen at this time was his *History of Henry VII*, first published in 1622. The subject of this philosophic history is said to have been suggested by James himself. With the preparation of it he took the greatest care; even the manuscript was corrected by the King and others. On its completion copies were presented to the King, Queen of Bohemia, Buckingham, and the Lord Keeper. The latter's acknowledgment of the book "to his very good Lord—the Lord Viscount St. Alban," well illustrates the character of this dignitary, who had so recently opposed Bacon's complete liberation. "My very good Lord—I heartily thank your Lordship for your book, and all other symbols of your love and affection, which I will endeavour, upon all opportunities, to deserve, and in the meantime do rest your lordship's assured faithful poor friend and servant."

Bacon was anxious that it should be translated into Latin, as he says "those modern languages will, at one time or another, play the bankrupts with books," so it soon appeared both in Latin and French, and many editions followed.

In the translations of many of his best works, especially this history, it has been said that he was much indebted to Ben Jonson, Herbert, and other friends.

In the year 1623 the Provostship to Eton College became vacant, and it is remarkable as an evidence of his energy and zeal for work even now, that he applied for the position. In a letter written to Sir Henry Saville many years before, after a visit to Eton, one finds that Bacon, among all his other exercises, had not neglected the question of the education of the young. It may have been that he now wished to turn his attention, in his declining years, to a more serious study in this department, also, probably, to augment his income, his pecuniary needs becoming more pressing. However that may be, he was unsuccessful in his application, and Sir Henry Wooton received the appointment.

This was the last occasion on which Bacon sought any definite occupation outside his book-world.

He now proceeded with his literary labours, publishing his *De Augmentis*, *Historia Vitæ*, *Historia Ventorum*, and other books, among which must be mentioned the final and complete edition of his *Essays* in the year 1625.

An allusion must also be made here to certain literary productions, of a somewhat different character, which proceeded from his pen, viz., his translations into English verse of a number of the Psalms, dedicated

to George Herbert, as well as a few separate poetical pieces which are well known. Many of his *prayers* are beautiful, and are to be found, not only as special supplications in his hours of trouble, but also embodied in his best prose works, as at the beginning of the *Instauratio Magna* and the conclusion of the preface.

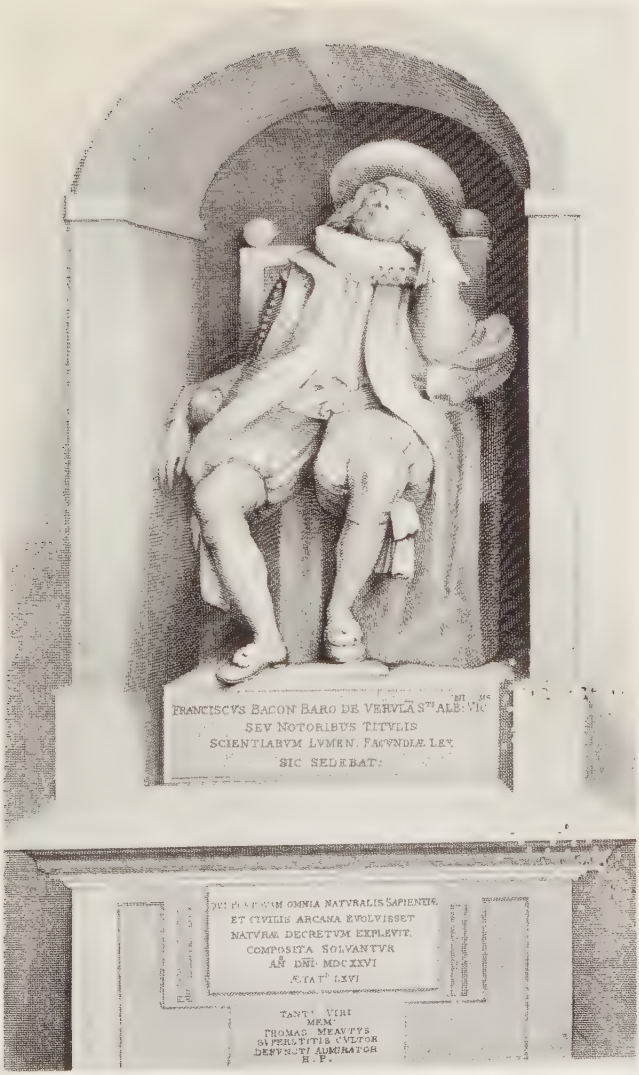
His writings were mostly published both in English and Latin. He always had a predilection for the latter, and felt that his works would best live in the minds of posterity in that tongue, and be more universally read. He frequently takes the opportunity of emphasizing this. For instance, in presenting the King with his *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, he says, "For since my end of putting it into Latin was to have it read everywhere, it had been an absurd contradiction to free it in the language, and to pen it up in the matter." Referring to the *Great Instauration*, Tenison says in the *Baconiana:* Bacon "knowing that this work was desired beyond the seas, and being also aware that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change in a few years, were out of use, he caused that part of it, which he had written in English, to be translated into the Latin tongue by Mr. Herbert and some others, who were esteemed masters in the Roman eloquence."

Bacon was delicate from his birth, and never enjoyed robust health. We have this on the authority of many observers, such as Rawley, Aubrey, etc.; and, indeed, he himself points to the fact in the *Novum Organum:* "If anyone, therefore, should despair, let him consider a man as much employed in civil affairs as any other of his age, a man of no great share of health, who

must therefore have lost much time." . . . He seems to have been especially prone to attacks of giddiness and fainting. He was, however, most careful in his regimen, taking much precaution against ordinary ailments, and we do not know that he ever suffered from any protracted or serious illness.

During the year 1625 it was noticeable that his health was beginning to fail, and the latter part of that year he remained altogether at Gorhambury. In a letter to a friend he writes: "I thank God by means of the sweet air of the country I have obtained some degree of health"; also to Buckingham he says, "I have gotten some step into health"; all showing that he was somewhat concerned as to his condition. Early in the following year, however, as an evidence of his improvement, he returned to Gray's Inn, the retreat he loved so well.

Devotion to the cause of research and scientific investigation now brought this illustrious life to a close. During one of his excursions into the country he conceived the idea that animal substances might be preserved by means of snow; as he himself puts it: "I was desirous to try an experiment or two touching the conservation and induration of bodies; as for the experiment it succeeded excellently well." He procured a fowl from an old woman at Highgate and conducted the experiment himself. A severe chill was the result, and he was put to bed at the house of the Earl of Arundel. An acute illness, which his enfeebled frame could not withstand, immediately followed, and he died on the 9th of April, 1626, at the age of sixty-five years.



BACON'S MONUMENT IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

His will contained the following wish: "For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's Church, near St. Albans: there was my mother buried, and it is the parish church of my mansion-house at Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian church within the walls of Old Verulam"; and he bequeathed his "name and memory to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages."

His wife survived him twenty-four years. They left no family. In concluding this sketch of his life, a few considerations respecting his character, surroundings, and influences must be briefly noticed. It has been seen that at an early age he evinced a striking interest in philosophy and scientific methods of thought. As a boy he cared little for sports or the games of youth. He would even remain in seclusion, quite apart from others, engrossed in some scheme or problem of nature. His more philosophic works were probably planned before he was fifteen years of age, and his youthful sagacity was evident to all, including the Queen. When quite a lad he possessed a rapid and correct judgment, and in matters legal and philosophical he had the "courage of his convictions." This was shown in his college days and during his travels on the Continent. Though he was a great reader, Rawley says "he was no plodder upon books." No doubt his rapid perception would enable him to gather and assimilate all that he desired to use for his purposes with the least expenditure of time. The small things in nature never escaped his notice, and the peculiarities and functions of living bodies were always open to his investigation. His strongly developed imaginative faculty suggested many

phenomena of interest, and, as indicating the use he made of his powers and experiences in his daily walks, we find him, in his *Sylva*, discussing such psychical problems as "whether a man constantly and strongly believing that such a thing shall be—that such a one shall recover a sickness or the like—it doth help anything to the effecting of the thing itself," etc. As he advanced in years his imagination grew stronger, and it has been said that in this characteristic Burke resembled him.

It may be assumed that the history of a life should never be considered apart from its environment or without a complete knowledge of the history of the period; and when in the case of any person, be he lowly or exalted, one's attention is directed to certain traits of character calling for deliberate and fair treatment, judgment must be based on reliable data. It is to be regretted that the defects which unfortunately existed in the character of Bacon are often not only exaggerated through an ignorance of such considerations, but cited as condemnatory of his entire reputation. The first step, therefore, in the study of his life should be a study of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First, more especially the intricacies of the former period. This will at least have the effect of making the inquirer more sympathetic, and enable him to approach the subject in a truer spirit.

Bacon was born with an unquenchable ambition, and this was the mainspring of his life. In the attainment of some of his objects he did not hesitate to resort to many practices and mean devices that shock our sense of morality and outrage our feelings. In his desire to

be popular with all men he sometimes overtaxed even *his* capabilities; and in those days greater tact and judgment were necessary in the public service even than at present.

That he found himself stooping to acts and conducting cases which his conscience did not sanction, in order to further his own interests and assist him in climbing the ladder of fame, is true; and for much of his conduct I can find no palliation, no excuse. Further, I cannot agree with some of those writers who suggest that he possessed a high moral standard and keen appreciation of right and wrong. That he recognized such a standard, and could well differentiate the right from the wrong, one can quite understand, but that he actually possessed such attributes or lived up to them in all his dealings it is impossible to believe. In his meditations he no doubt had many an hour of remorse and bitterness—for he was a man of tender feeling and religious instincts, and his mental punishment would be proportionate. Though appreciating all this, those who have watched his career with an unbiased eye must admit that he was hard and unyielding in his legal transactions, even to the point of cruelty, rather than that his personal aims should be thwarted or allowed to suffer. We have so many evidences that he was at heart a religious man, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, that it is quite unnecessary to enumerate them. His deep convictions in this respect are interwoven in all his best works, and his *Confession of Faith* remains with us demonstrating his mental attitude towards Christianity. Macaulay, in alluding to his feelings regarding the moral sense of public bodies, says:

"Bacon well knew to how great an extent the happiness of every society must depend on the virtue of its branches; and he also knew what legislators can and what they cannot do for the purpose of promoting virtue."

The early chroniclers of his history do not think it worth while to tell us much that pertains to his homely habits, conversations, or virtues. All that we know of this side of his life is much to his credit. In concluding this reference to his private character, let us add a few words of his own from the preface to the *Historia Naturalis*, which will enlighten us as much as anything to be found in his life: "If, therefore, there be any humility towards the Creator, any reverence for or disposition to magnify his works, any charity for man, and anxiety to relieve his sorrows and necessities, any love of truth in nature, any hatred of darkness, any desire for the purification of the understanding, we must interest men again and again, to discard, or at least set apart for a while those volatile and preposterous philosophies which have preferred these for hypotheses, led experience captive, and triumphed over the works of God; and to approach with humility and veneration to unroll the volume of Creation, to linger and meditate thereon, and with minds washed clean from opinions to study it in purity and integrity." Is it not too evident, as has been tersely stated by a modern writer, that Bacon, "like other human beings, was a mixture of good and evil; being a great man, in him both good and evil are on a large scale"? In the inner struggles of his heart he must have often uttered with Faust the despairing cry:—

"Zwei Seelen wohnen ach! in meiner Brust."

Taken altogether, such a character cannot be judged too harshly, and to denounce him as a learned profligate and knave, as some have done, only demonstrates an incomplete and biased study of the man and the age in which he lived. It has been said that Bacon worked only for fame, and many lesser lights in literature and politics have accentuated their opinions in regard to this. I can only affirm that his ambition was not out of proportion to his actual achievements, and whatever his motive, he has left us, as the result of his labours, a heritage that his countrymen will for all time be proud to acknowledge. He expected to live in the minds of posterity by his writings, though he felt that during his lifetime his abilities would be chiefly measured by his State successes. Through all his chequered career and full life we should remember that he never wearied in his devotion as a student of nature and a seeker after truth. Here his ambition led him to strive for and achieve some great good for mankind. In the words of Dean Church, "To teach men to know, is only next to making them good," and we should agree "that all generations to come must shield him from the insult of Pope's famous and shallow epigram"—"Wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." It is impossible to concur with a modern writer who insists "that of all the better known writers of the sixteenth century, even prose writers, Bacon is the most prosaic, the most insipid, and the most pedantic"; but one is glad to read in his book that "there is much that is clever in Bacon's *Essays*, here and there depth and originality, although scarcely anything which wafts towards us, as it were, a high revelation, like one of the hundreds of

never-to-be-forgotten utterances of Shakespeare." My own idea has always been that the *Essays* are incomparable in their "depth and originality," and moreover, convey truths with a power and charm that no writer in any form of literature has ever surpassed, not excepting even Shakespeare.

As a speaker in the House of Commons and elsewhere his ability was early recognized. In difficult and obscure legal cases, such as those brought before the Star Chamber, he was much employed, owing to the fact that his methods of dealing with such were successful, though we cannot always reconcile those methods with our ideas of fairness and rectitude. It would seem that the noble purposes of his life were at times completely laid aside, and he would then not hesitate to satisfy his ambition by gaining some temporary distinction, even though it were necessary to treat some poor prisoner in the most cruel and tyrannical fashion.

As to his eloquence we have much testimony, but the words of Ben Jonson, though already so frequently referred to by various writers, are worth quoting: "There happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."

Bacon loved luxury and graceful surroundings. He was always hampered with debts. In his younger days, we are told, he was even obliged to borrow money from the Jews, and his mother would frequently supply him with poultry and ale from the country house at Gorhambury. Later in life, when he resided there himself, his table, decorations, servants, etc. all exhibited princely lavishness, and even when his liabilities were heaviest there was no diminution in his personal and domestic extravagance. At his death his debts amounted to £20,000. The regulation of his finances had no place in the methods of his philosophy!

When we consider the vast amount of work that he accomplished—literary, parliamentary, and judicial—we wonder that a somewhat frail constitution could have endured the strain put upon it, more especially when much of his life was deluged with public anxieties and personal troubles. Pecuniary difficulties and the enmity of jealous office seekers at all times pursued him, so that he was obliged to allow himself frequent periods of rest and recreation; but he never indulged in intemperance or excess in his private life, much of which was spent at Gorhambury. By judiciously varying his form of study, by walking, driving in his coach, bowls, etc. he would here recover from the fatigue of public duties. The leisure devoted to his philosophic works was "recreation" to him. My business, he says, "found rest in my contemplations."

It is difficult to estimate the influence that this great man exercised on those even of his own day. It is, of course, evident from the observations of Jonson and others this must have been considerable. In the force

of his reasoning, logical deductions, and imaginative powers he had no equal. His elegance in style and metaphor, coupled with a characteristic suavity of manner, at once raised him above contemporary speakers. In his persuasiveness and adroitness in bringing an apparently hopeless case to a successful issue, even Coke, his great rival, was in no sense his equal.

Method was Bacon's watchword. In his keen attention to detail and careful arrangement of facts in every department of his work, both public and private, how evident this is. It enabled him to wield that influence in the Star Chamber, and in his literature, which established his eminence. At the same time his mental processes were usually broad and comprehensive. This has been well described by one writer when he says: "For Bacon we claim the decided superiority in comprehensiveness of mind. He alone seemed to take in at one glance the whole circumference of human knowledge; he alone knew how to assign to each separate branch its proper position, to detect the prejudices by which it was impeded, to furnish the true *method* by which advancement in every case was to be made."

He was gifted with a good memory, and so he was constantly able to utilize those details which his observant mind was at all times gathering and storing. The art of recalling impressions was a special study with him.

He was a master in fine distinctions, and he saw "differences in apparent resemblances, and resemblances in apparent differences"; this it was that made him excel all others in his philosophic and scientific observations. At the same time he was always clear and

unambiguous in his statements, and his language, though often aphoristic, was appropriate and seldom redundant, in spite of the frequent repetition of apt phrases and quotations.

He lived in the reign of a king who did not and could not do justice to his talents, though he quite understood his abilities and power. He could no more depend on the allegiance of the Court officials than on the sympathy of Queen Elizabeth or James; and his opponents and enemies in Parliament were ready to depreciate his best endeavours. Here was a man of extravagant tastes, impecunious, the object of jealousy, cared for by none, excepting a very few learned friends, and withal possessing an ambitious zeal to further the knowledge of mankind. In the light of such considerations, though fully recognizing Bacon's infirmities, let us not indulge in a too ready denunciation, but rather turn to his own acknowledgment, which he makes to Sir Thomas Bodley: "I do confess since I was of any understanding my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done, and in absence are many errors which I willingly acknowledge, and amongst the rest, this great one, which led the rest, that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by pre-occupation of mind."

That he spoke the words of his heart when he made this declaration we can have no doubt; and though there is much that we can never excuse, there is more that we must ever admire and applaud in the life of this great man.

THE WORKS OF BACON

EARLY LITERATURE

BEFORE directing our attention to those greater and better known works of Bacon, it will be well to briefly notice some of those early productions, which are especially interesting to us, as indicating Bacon's method and line of thought whilst formulating his more ambitious philosophic schemes.

His small tract known as *Notes on the State of Europe* was probably written in the year 1580, and is thought by Mallet to be his first literary effort. The original of this was formerly in the possession of Lord Oxford, but is now among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum. It was printed in the Supplement to Stephens' *Letters, etc.* (second collection, 1734), and was reprinted by Mallet in 1760. It should be stated that Spedding is not quite satisfied with the evidence of its authenticity.

Also, about this period, Bacon composed the draft of another work, which received the high-sounding title of *Temporis partum Maximum;* this, however, in its imperfect form, produced little or no impression, excepting on a few of his most interested admirers. Archbishop Tenison, speaking of it, says: "This was a kind of embryo of the *Instauratio*, and if it had been preserved it might have delighted and profited philosophical readers, who could then have seen the generation of that great work, as it were, from the first egg of it, and

by reference to the tract it will be seen that it was sound judgment." Many years afterwards we find an allusion to this fragmentary treatise in a letter to Father Fulgentio: "Equidem memini me quadraginta ad huc annis juvenile opusculum circa has res conficisse, quod magna prorsus fiducia et magnifico titulo Temporis Partum Maximum." Spedding says: "This is probably the work of which Henry Cuffe (the great Oxford scholar, who was executed in 1601 as one of the chief accomplices in the Earl of Essex's treason) was speaking when he said that 'a fool could not have written it, and a wise man would not!'"

The *Cogitata et Visa de Interpretatione Naturae* was one of the most important of these early tracts, as much of the matter which it contained was reproduced in the *Novum Organum*, and also because it introduced Bacon's primary ideas with regard to the *Instauration*. For these reasons it will be better to postpone further reference to it until considering the greater work later.

Valerius Terminus was the name given to a literary fragment, which according to Spedding contained "the germ of all that part of the *Instauratio* which treated of the 'Interpretation of Nature.' It was to be a statement of Bacon's method without professing either to give the collection of facts, to which the collection was applied, or the results thereby obtained." It was, indeed, the precursor of the *Advancement of Learning*, and was written before the year 1605—the date of the publication of the latter work—and this, in its turn, was to be still later expanded into the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*—part I of the *Great Instauration*.

Grüter collected in his *Scripta in Naturali et Uni-*

versali Philosophia (1653) a number of the early philosophical pieces of Bacon, and entitled them *Impetus Philosophici.* This contained the preface to the *Novum Organum,* the *Partis Secundae Delineatis et Argumentum,* as well as a fragment of the *Redargutio Philosophiarum.* Spedding suggests that this latter "may be considered as the first chapter of the second part of the *Instauratio,* as it was then designed," and he publishes it with the *Delineatio* in the third volume of his works. It may be added that these early tracts and fragmentary pieces may be found here, printed in full.

In the supplement to the second edition of Stephens' collection (1734) may be seen two interesting tracts entitled *Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge* and *Mr. Bacon in Praise of his Sovereign,* and the manuscripts of these are still preserved in the British Museum.

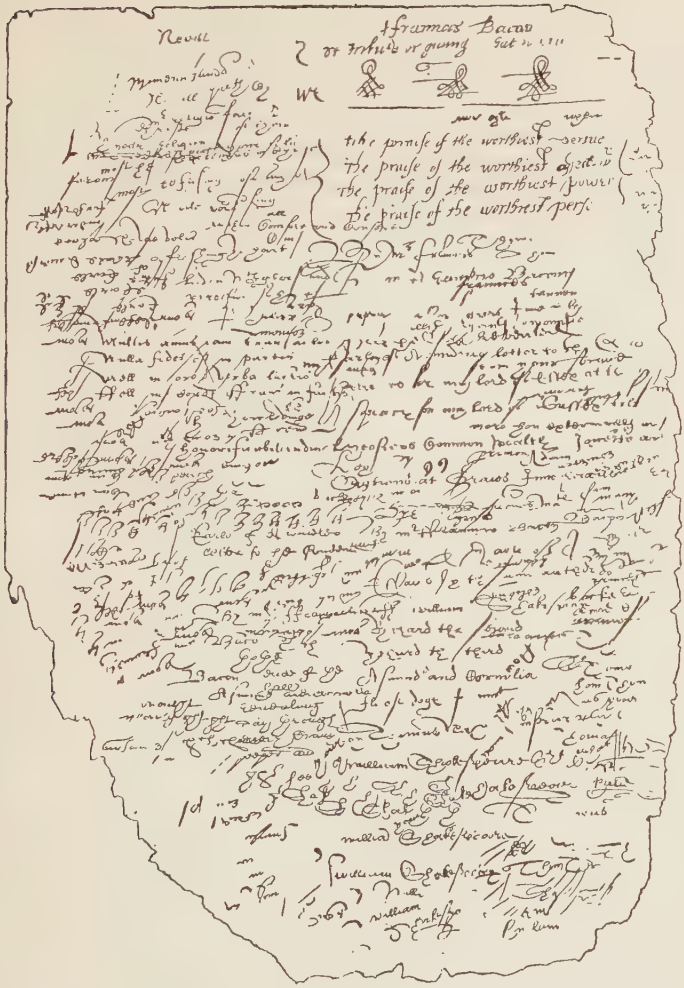
It appears to have been customary in Elizabethan days to entertain royalty with pageants, or "Devices," as they were called, on notable festive occasions; and on the anniversary of the coronation of the Queen in 1595 Bacon and Essex both took part. It is said "that certain speeches, unquestionably written by Bacon, were delivered in a Device presented by Essex," and Spedding further adds, "I strongly suspect that two of the most interesting among his smaller pieces were drawn up for some similar performance in the year 1592." He referred to those just mentioned, and the same authority goes on to say: "My reason for suspecting that they were composed for some masque or show, or other fictitious occasion, is partly that the speech in praise of knowledge professes to have been spoken in a *Conference of Pleasure,* and the speech in praise of

Elizabeth appears, by the opening sentence, to have been preceded by three others, one of which *was* in praise of knowledge—partly that, earnest and full of matter as they both are (the one containing the germ of the first book of the *Novum Organum*, the other of the *Observations on a Libel*, which are nothing less than a substantial historical defence of the Queen's government), there is nevertheless in the *style* of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon's other compositions of this kind, and agreeable to the taste of the time." . . .

Another important tract, most interesting from an historical point of view, issued from the pen of Bacon at this period—probably in the year 1593. This was entitled *Certain Observations made upon a Libel*, and was written by him in answer to a pamphlet called the *Responsio ad edictum Reginae Angliae*, the work of a certain Father Parsons, who in it made grave charges on behalf of the Roman Catholics against the English Government after the Armada defeat.

Those who are desirous of studying these early publications should consult Spedding's *Works*, the seventh volume of which contains those of most interest.

In connexion with this part of our subject it is necessary to refer to an old manuscript (now known as the "Northumberland Manuscript") that came under the notice of Mr. John Bruce in 1869, when examining various ancient documents belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, at Northumberland House, Charing Cross. This small folio, consisting originally of about twenty-two sheets, was found among certain documents



First page of the *Northumberland Manuscript*

and pamphlets written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was a miscellaneous collection, and Mr. Bruce says: "Among the papers taken out of these boxes I found the transcripts of the papers of Bacon." In the Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the manuscript is thus described: "*Folio, A 'Conference of Pleasure' by Francis Bacon; with the manuscript is bound a large-paper Copy of the printed work* (1870)." The "large-paper copy" was edited by Spedding, and he published at the same time a smaller edition for public use. On the outer page, and at the top of the original document, will be seen the titles of the four addresses by Bacon, written in 1592, which were probably delivered at the "Device" in honour of the Queen—already alluded to. These "Praises" are to—Fortitude, Love, Knowledge, and the Queen, and appear here, as follows:—

"The Praise of the worthiest virtue."
"The Praise of the worthiest affection."
"The Praise of the worthiest power."
"The Praise of the worthiest person."

Although this page is much damaged, many interesting entries may readily be recognized, and it would seem that this was intended to serve as a sort of title page to the volume; for we find, beside the names of Bacon and Shakespeare in repeated variations of style, scribbled irregularly all over it, such phrases as: "Philipp against Monsieur," "Speeches for my Lord Essex at the tylt"; "Orations at Graie's Inne revells, by Mr. ffrancis Bacon"; "Essaies by the same author"; "Rychard the second"; "Rychard the third"; "Asmund

and Cornelia"; "Ile of dogs frmnt" (supposed to be a fragment by Thomas Nashe), etc. On an examination of the contents it will be found that some subjects not stated on the cover are included, while, "by accident or design," certain most important pieces mentioned on the outside page are missing, such as the plays of Shakespeare and the one by Nashe. From the cover, it originally contained the *Essays*, and this point has been thought important as indicating the probable date of the manuscript itself; for in the dedication of the first edition, Bacon says: "Loving & beloved Brother, I doe now like some that have an Orcharde ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print. . . . Therefore I holde it best discretion to publish them myselfe as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further disgrace, than the weaknesse of the Author." In the work of Mr. Frank Burgoyne, published in 1904, which deals exhaustively with this manuscript, it is stated: "This letter points to the extensive circulation of the *Essays* in manuscript, which would cease on their issue as a book. They were printed in January, 1597, and again in 1598, and so were easily to be procured in book form after February, 1597. This appears to fix the date of the manuscript as about that period, for it is not reasonable to suppose that the expensive and printed editions had appeared. The same argument applies to the plays of *Rychard ii* and *Rychard iii*, which are included in the list of contents. These, also, were first printed in 1597, and issued at a published price of sixpence each. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the manuscript was written not later

than January, 1597, and it seems more probable that no part of the manuscript was written after 1596." Mr. Burgoyne, at the end of his volume, gives us facsimile reprints of the pages of the manuscript. Mr. T. Le Marchant Douse also made an examination of this manuscript at Alnwick Castle, and published the results in 1903. He issues an excellent reproduction of the facsimile of the outside leaf from the original copy, which will be found in his work.

Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum there is one of much interest, which seems beyond doubt to be the work of Bacon's own hand; the title of this is *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, on the first page of which appears the date of 1594: it is presumed, therefore, that it was begun at this time. While referring the reader to the seventh volume of Spedding's *Works* for a short description of this, as well as to the *Extracts* which are quoted by him from the manuscripts, I cannot do better than repeat a portion of his introductory remarks referring to its nature and composition. "It consists of single sentences, set down one after the other without any marks between, or any notes of reference or explanation. This collection (which fills more than forty quarto pages) is of the most miscellaneous character, and seems by various marks in the manuscript to have been afterwards digested into other collections which are lost. The first few pages are filled chiefly, though not exclusively, with forms of expression applicable to such matters as a man might have occasion to touch in conversation—neatly turned sentences describing personal characters and qualities—forms of compliment, application, excuse,

repartee, etc. These are apparently of his own invention, and may have been suggested by his own experience and occasions. But interspersed among these are apophthegms, proverbs, verses out of the Bible, and lines out of the Latin poets, all set down without any order or apparent connection of subject, as if he had been trying to remember as many notable phrases as he could out of his various reading and observation, and setting them down just as they happened to present themselves. As we advance, the collection becomes more miscellaneous, as if his memory had been ranging within a smaller circumference. In one place, for instance, we find a cluster of quotations from the Bible, following one another with a regularity which may be best explained by supposing that he had been reading the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and then the Gospels and Epistles (or perhaps some commentary upon them) regularly through. The quotations are in Latin, and most of them agree exactly with the Vulgate, but not all. . . . Passing the Scripture series, we come again into a collection of a miscellaneous character. Proverbs, French, Spanish, Italian, and English —sentences out of Erasmus's *Adagia*—verses from the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, lines from Seneca, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, succeed each other. . . . There is not much that is original in it, but the selected phrases and quotations are so set down, without comment or application, as to suggest that Bacon had intended to make use of them when the occasion presented itself."

In 1883 Mrs. Pott published, for the first time, a complete transcript of this manuscript, "with a view to

proving from internal evidence Bacon's authorship of the plays known as Shakespeare's," and she attempted to show that all the illustrations and quotations found here had been introduced for a definite and set purpose. For instance, she cites the fact that over two hundred proverbs here mentioned are borrowed from John Heywood's collection of epigrams published in 1562, and that three-fourths of these "have been found directly quoted or alluded to in the plays attributed to Shakespeare." Also, she further points to the fact that these proverbs are not made use of by Bacon in his "acknowledged writings."

Dr. Abbott, while making it quite clear in his preface to Mrs. Pott's work that he does not accept her view as to Bacon's authorship of the *Plays and Sonnets*, admits at once that she "has shown that there is a very considerable similarity of phrase and thought between these two great Authors." And he proceeds with the following observations, the importance of which will be very evident to those interested in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy: "The *Promus* seems to render it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that Francis Bacon in the year 1594 had either heard or read Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Let the reader turn to the passage in that play where Friar Laurence lectures Romeo on too early rising, and note the italicised words:—

'But where unbruised youth with unstuff'd brain
Doth couch his limbs, there *golden sleep* doth reign:
Therefore thy earliness doth me assure
Thou art *up-roused* by some distemperature.'

Romeo and Juliet, II. 3. 40.

"Now let us turn to entries 1207 and 1215 in the following pages [Dr. Abbott here, of course, refers to Mrs. Pott's work], and we will find that Bacon, among a number of phrases relating to early rising, has these words almost consecutively, 'golden sleep' and 'up-rouse.' *One* of these entries would prove little or nothing; but anyone accustomed to evidence will perceive that *two* of these entries constitute a coincidence amounting almost to a demonstration that, either (1) Bacon and Shakespeare borrowed from some common and at present unknown source, or (2) one of the two borrowed from the other. The author's belief is (pp. 95–7) that the play is indebted for these expressions to the Promus; mine is that the Promus borrowed them from the play. But in any case, if the reader will refer to the author's comments on this passage (pp. 65–7), he will find other similarities between the play and the Promus which indicate borrowing of some sort." Mrs. Pott's book, in the compilation of which infinite care and painstaking research have been expended, should be consulted by all who are interested in the study of Bacon, whether they agree or disagree with the conclusions she so ably endeavours to demonstrate.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE WORKS

A STUDY of the works of Bacon, from any point of view, necessitates some form of classification which shall be comprehensive and convenient. The one usually adopted is a division of his writings under the three heads: Philosophical, Literary, and Professional. Although it must be understood that no arbitrary division of such a vast accumulation of writings, on such varied subjects, could be attempted, as an aid to those who are only beginning the study of Bacon, this definite arrangement will be adhered to as closely as may be possible.

(1) PHILOSOPHICAL

Instauratio Magna.

I. *De Augmentis Scientiarum.*
II. *Novum Organum.*
III. *Phenomena Universi.*
IV. *Scala Intellectus.*
V. *Prodromi.*
VI. *Philosophia Secunda.*

(2) LITERARY

The *Essays*, with the *Colours of Good and Evil; Historical, Religious, and Poetical Works; Apophthegms, New and Old; The Wisdom of the Ancients.*

(3) Professional

Many speeches and legal papers come under this heading, but the consideration of these must be left until the more important literary works of Bacon have had our attention.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

INSTAURATIO MAGNA

Bacon's great philosophic conception is included under the head of the *Great Instauration*, and the component parts of this gigantic scheme are those six productions already referred to. The idea of this undertaking dawned on him during his student days at Gray's Inn, and through the busy and anxious years that followed he continued to accumulate facts which served to illustrate his ambitious design. A short time before his death he says: "In that purpose my mind never waxed old, in that long period of time it never cooled." Many literary fragments and notes from his pen prove the correctness of his words. One of his youthful productions bearing on the matter, and which he entitled the *Greatest Birth of Time*, has been destroyed, and all that now remains of it are some undated fragments of manuscript (already referred to), with the title, *Partus Temporis Masculus*, substituted. Indeed, the component works of the *Instauratio* were augmented and altered many times before the final design was brought before the public, and of course it was not then in a complete form. A much longer life than Bacon's could not hope to accomplish such an

OPERA

FRANCISCI

BARONIS

DE

VERVLAMIO,

VICE-COMITIS

SANCTI ALBANI;

TOMVS PRIMVS:

Qui continet

De Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum

LIBROS IX.

AD REGEM SVVM.

LONDINI,

In Officina IOANNIS HAVILAND.

MDCXXIII.

undertaking as he proposed. Ellis, in his work, says: "The *Instauratio* is divided into six portions: the *first* is to contain a general survey of the present state of knowledge. In the *second*, men are to be taught how to use their understanding aright in the investigation of nature. In the *third*, all the phenomena of the universe are to be stored up as in a treasure house, as the materials on which the new method is to be employed. In the *fourth*, examples are to be given of its operation and of the results to which it leads. The *fifth* is to contain what Bacon had accomplished in Natural Philosophy, without the aid of his own method; 'ex eodem intellectûs usu quem alii in inquirendo et inveniendo adhibere consueverunt.' It is therefore less important than the rest, and Bacon declares that he will not bind himself to the conclusions which it contains. Moreover, its value will altogether cease when the *sixth* part can be completed, wherein will be set forth the new philosophy—the results of the application of the new method to all the phenomena of the universe. But to complete this, the last part of the *Instauratio*, Bacon does not hope; he speaks of it as a thing, 'et supra vires et ultra spes nostras collocata.'"

DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM

Instauratio Magna, Part I

The first edition of this work was published in 1623, under the full title of *Tomus primus, qui continet de dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum, Libros IX*, and was considered by Archbishop Tenison as the "fairest and most correct edition." It is one of the rarest of English

classics, and is seldom met with in the original. Of course there is a copy to be seen in the British Museum. It was written in Latin, as Bacon had small hopes that his books would live in the English tongue. Writing to his friend, Tobie Mathew, he says: "For these modern languages will at one time or another play the bank-rowte with books."

The Advancement of Learning, published in 1605, was the forerunner of the *De Augmentis*. The latter is, indeed, the expansion and remodelling of the former. The full title of this book was *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of proficiencie and advancement of Learning, divine and humane.* It appeared first as a small quarto of 118 leaves, and was not reprinted till 1629. A third edition, known as the "Oxford Edition," came out in 1633.

In the year 1640 Gilbert Watts published a retranslation into English of the enlarged Latin work of nine books. This was of folio size, and contained the portrait of Bacon. A second edition of this followed in 1674. Some fragments and notes written by him early in life, such as the *Cogitationes de Scientia Humana* and *A Discourse in Praise of Knowledge* were expanded and grafted into this greater effort.

The *Advancement* at once placed Bacon in the foremost rank both as a writer and thinker; for, at the time, this work was received with even more acclamation than the *Essays*. No doubt in it his literary genius shines out to the full, and of all contemporary books of secular interest it was the finest. It directed men "how to think of knowledge, to impress upon them all that knowledge might do in wise hands for the elevation and

THE
Tvvoo Bookes of
FRANCIS BACON.

Of the proficience and aduancement of Learning, diuine and humane.

To the King.

AT LONDON,
¶ Printed for *Henrie Tomes*, and are to be ſould at his ſhop at Graies Inne *Gate in Holborne. 1605.*

benefit of man; to warn them against the rocks and shallows of error and fallacy which beset the course and inquiry, and to elevate the quest of truth, and the acquisition of wisdom into the noblest aim and best assured hope of the human species."

NOVUM ORGANUM

Instauratio Magna, Part II

When this work was first published in 1620, though well received by many, it did not meet with entire approval.

The King just then was not in a very favourable frame of mind towards Bacon, and his opinion of the book was embraced in the remark that "it was like the peace of God, it passed all understanding." Neither was Coke's judgment of a flattering character; for he takes the opportunity of snubbing the author, as he wittily plays on the frontispiece of his *ex auctore* copy, and Brant's allegorical ship, by writing between the pillars of Hercules these lines:—

> "It deserveth not to be read in Schools
> But to be freighted in the Ship of Fools."

It appeared in folio, with an engraved title by Pass, and contained a preface and dedication to James the First.

Interesting portions of the work had been submitted to several of his friends, including Sir Thomas Bodley and Bishop Andrews, the best known and most esteemed treatise being the *Cogitata et Visa*. This was written in 1608, and may be considered as the origin and

foundation of the *Novum Organum*. From Bodley's words that the book "showed him a master-workman," it is evident that it was highly appreciated, and the further eulogium was added: "That it could not be gainsaid but all the treatise over did abound with choice conceits of the present state of learning and with worthy contemplations of the means to procure it." The *Cogitata* was written in Latin, and was, in reality, the completed form of a tract which he had previously compiled in English but never finished, called the *Clue of the Labyrinth* (*Filum Labyrinthi*). The work in its finished state was aphoristic in style, and carried great weight on account of its directness of thought.

It was not actually published until the year 1653, when Grüter included it in his little volume of that year, (which will be further noticed in the "posthumous works"), and an interesting allusion to this publication, and also to that of the *De Augmentis*, issued at Leyden in 1645 by the same author, may be found in Mr. Edwin Reed's work on *Francis Bacon our Shakespeare* (1902).

The *Novum Organum* was written in Latin, and although portions of it were translated into English at various times—by Watts in 1640, also in the *Resuscitatio* (1671 edition), etc.—a complete translation did not appear till the year 1733; this was made by Dr. Peter Shaw.

It was divided into two books, and annexed to those was the *Parasceue*, which is considered the beginning of the third part of the *Instauratio*, the Natural History proper, and which the author calls "*Parasceue ad historiam Naturalem et experimentalem*," together with a *Catalogus historiarum particularium secundem capita*.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE "NOVUM ORGANUM," 1620

The *Parasceue* has a separate pagination. The *first* book of the *Novum Organum* is the most important and interesting.

In character of expression this great work retained much of that aphoristic method found in the *Essays* and some of his later works. In substance it contained the meditations and thoughts of many anxious years. It fully explains his philosophic reasoning founded on the new Inductive method, and was prepared throughout with the utmost care. Rawley tells us that he had "seen at least twelve copies of the *Instauration*, revised year by year, and every year altered and amended." At Gray's Inn, during his legal studies—in his public life, and while he was indulging in his recreations, his constant devotion to this scheme—the most important subject and problem of his life—never forsook him. It was, indeed, the study of his life, and one has little doubt but that the full accomplishment of the *Instauratio* was a greater ambition in his life than the dignity of Chancellorship and the Great Seal. Much has been written with regard to the method pursued and views expressed in this work, and in this study it is not proposed to discuss these, but the chief object of his philosophy is well described in a few lines by Macaulay, when he says: "In Bacon's opinion philosophy was made for man; it was a means to an end, and that end was to increase the pleasures and mitigate the pains of millions, who are not and cannot be philosophers." Bacon, here, took a strong stand against the old process of reasoning and the previous philosophical methods which proceeded from insufficient data or

hypotheses without any foundation of fact. He attempted to make evident, and once for all banish, the pitfalls of syllogistic reasoning, the conclusions of which could only be founded on unreliable premises; alone being content to go back to "first principles," and thence proceeding by a scientific and true method of deduction. This, indeed, was the chief aim of his work. Thus would his observations and experiments provide a sure basis for reasoning, and we must acknowledge that he did much to establish this great lesson, without which no true advance in any science can be made.

PHENOMENA UNIVERSI

Instauratio Magna, Part III

Under this head we have those works which treat more especially of Natural Philosophy and Natural History. Bacon arranges his subjects in separate treatises—as follows:—

1. *Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam: Sive Phoenomena Universi: Quae est Instauratio Magna—Pars Tertia.*

   This was first issued in the year 1622 in an octavo volume of 285 pages.

2. *Sylva Sylvarum.*

The first, or *Historia Naturalis*, included the following subjects, with the distinct titles:—

(*a*) *Historia Ventorum.*

(*b*) *Historia Densi et Rari.*

Iz: rw: 1622

FRANCISCI BARONIS DE VERVLAMIO VICE-COMITIS SANCTI ALBANI,

HISTORIA NATVRALIS ET EXPERIMENTALIS AD CONDENDAM PHILOSOPHIAM:

SIVE, PHÆNOMENA VNIVERSI:

Quæ est Instaurationis Magnæ

PARS TERTIA.

LONDINI,
In Officina IO. HAVILAND, impensis
Matthæi Lownes & Guilielmi Barret.
1622.

This particular copy belonged to Isaac Walton. See his initials at the top of the page

(*c*) *Historia Gravis et Levis.*
(*d*) *Historia Sympathiae et Antipathiae Rerum.*
(*e*) *Historia Sulphuris, Mercurii et Salis.*
(*f*) *Historia Vitae et Mortis.*

The *Historia Ventorum* appeared in full, and the *Introductions* only of the remaining five portions. Bacon's anticipations were not realized in this work; for although the *Historia Vitae et Mortis* was separately published two months later (January, 1623) the *Historia Densi et Rari* did not appear until 1658, when Rawley inserted it in his *Opuscula Varia Posthuma.* The remaining three were not issued at all as separate tracts, but the subjects were subsequently discussed in the *Sylva Sylvarum.*

As we approach this period of Bacon's work we become more fully alive to his design and scheme of philosophical inquiry. While the task he imposed upon himself was greater than he could possibly accomplish, he never wearied in the attempt, for his self-reliance and belief in his own abilities at no time forsook him. He now proceeds to emphasize the necessity for a clear comprehension of such phenomena as "Concretes—Latent Processes and Latent Configurations," in support of his Inductions; as he says in his dedication of the *Historia Naturalis* to the Prince of Wales: "For a small well-ordered Natural History is the key of all knowledge and operation." His study in this respect was most serious, and he now arrives at the conclusion, as Dr. Abbott states, that "even if the *Organum* were completed and men willing to use it, they could make little progress without the *Natural History.*" "Whereas

the *Natural History* without the *Organum* would advance it not a little. . . . But all this devotion and pathetic confidence cannot conceal the fact that his trust in the new *Natural History* appears to increase in proportion to his distrust of the New Induction ; and it is startling indeed to find the term "key" now transferred from the latter to the former, which he now ventures to call "the key of all knowledge and operation."

Historia Ventorum

As we have already stated, this, the opening treatise in the *Historia Naturalis*, was published in 1622, and it was afterwards translated into English in the year 1653, in a small duodecimo volume, which contained a portrait of Bacon, by Cross. In this, Bacon conducts an elaborate inquiry into various subjects and experiments—thirty-three in all—which are mostly borrowed from the *Natural Histories* of Pliny, Aristotle, and Acosta. In accordance with his own views and observations, he describes the action of the air on the vanes of a windmill ; the rigging and method of sailing of a battleship, etc. ; but the work, as a whole, possesses no value from a scientific point of view, and is seldom referred to at the present day.

Historia Vitae et Mortis

Of the remaining five subjects which Bacon attempts to deal with in the *Historia Naturalis* by far the most important is the *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, and consequently we may next briefly consider it. The completed work was first published in 1623, as a small octavo edition, and was written in Latin, as were all the other

THE NATURALL AND Experimentall HISTORY OF VVINDS, &c.

Written in Latine by the Right Honorable *Francis* Lo: *Verulam*, Viſcount St *Alban*.

Tranſlated into Engliſh by *R. G.* Gent.

LONDON,
Printed for *Humphrey Moſeley*, at the *Princes Armes* in St *Pauls* Church-yard; and *Tho. Dring* at the *George* in Fleet-ſtreet. 1653.

works included in the *Historia Naturalis*. A very good and reliable English edition by William Rawley appeared in 1638.

Bacon himself attached much importance to this effort, dealing, as it did, with "the prolongation and setting up of human life." It was prepared with much care and attention to detail, and was the last publication during his life. In it he describes how the processes of life influence longevity, and attempts to establish a theory of the presence of a vital spirit permeating all animals and plants, the properties of which cannot be determined. He then deals with the "quantity," "quality," and "regulation of spirit," and lastly with the "effects of spirit upon the body." He extended his inquiries and observations to many matters bearing on the preservation of health and longevity, as well as "the causes of the consumption of the body and the modes of reparation." This work is of considerable interest, and though not now much read, was formerly held in high esteem.

Historia Densi et Rari

This tract was written in the year 1623, and the *Introduction* of it was also included in the *Historia Naturalis*. It was not published, however, until 1658, when it appeared in the *Opuscula Varia Posthuma Philosophica* of Rawley. It was an unfinished manuscript, and that portion of it which has come down to us was printed by Spedding, who says that Rawley's copy is his "only authority for the text," and that the condition of the manuscript when found is not stated. Spedding adds, "I apprehend, however, that it came into his

hands unfinished or mutilated." It deals with various experiments conducted by Bacon with reference to specific gravities, the density of bodies, conversion of fluids into air, and many problems of a like nature. Ellis says that his *Table of Specific Gravities* is the only collection of quantitative experimental results that we find in Bacon's works; and I would refer any one interested in this special department of investigation to Ellis's excellent Preface on the subject, which fully explains Bacon's views.

The remaining three subjects grouped under the *Historia Naturalis*, viz. those relating to *The Heavy and the Light*, *The Sympathies and Antipathies of Things*, and *Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt*, are only fragmentary, being represented in this connexion merely by their *Introductions*.

Several additional treatises, mostly unfinished, in the same line of thought, may here be mentioned, such as those on Light, Sound, and the Magnet. The last-mentioned, with the title *Inquisitio de Magnete*, was published by Rawley in his *Opuscula*. Mr. Spedding says that it may be regarded as a loose leaf belonging to the third part of the *Instauratio*.

Sylva Sylvarum

In my classification I have thought it wise to include this work under the *Phoenomena Universi*, though, from the nature of its contents, it is somewhat difficult to assign an appropriate place for it. It was written about the year 1624, but was not published by Dr. Rawley till 1627, the year after Bacon's death, under the title *Sylva Sylvarum, or a Naturall Historie*

FRANCISCI

BARONIS

DE

VERVLAMIO,

VICE-COMITIS

SANCTI ALBANI,

Historia *Vitæ & Mortis.*

SIVE,

TITVLVS SECVNDVS

in Historiâ Naturali & Experimentali

ad condendam Philosophiam:

Quæ est

INSTAVRATIONIS MAGNÆ

PARS TERTIA

LONDINI,

In Officina IO. HAVILAND, impensis

MATTHAEI LOWNES. 1623.

in Ten Centuries. It appeared in folio, and contained a portrait of Bacon and a beautiful engraved title by Thomas Cecill, bearing the Latin quotation "*et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona.*" Rawley in his preface dedicates the work to King Charles I, beginning thus: "The whole body of the *Naturell Historie*, either designed or written by the late Lo. Vicount S. Alban, was dedicated to your Majestie, in his *Booke de Ventis*, about foure yeeres past, when your Majestie was Prince: So as there needed no new Dedication of this Worke, but only, in all humblenesse, to let your Majestie know, it is yours."

The *New Atlantis, a Worke Unfinished*, has a place at the end of the volume, and Rawley says in his preface ("to the Reader") of the work: "This Worke of the *New Atlantis* (as much as concerneth the English Edition) his Lordship designed for this place; In regard it hath so neare affinity (in one part of it) with the Preceeding *Naturall History*." The *Sylva* was published in English, and was reprinted in 1635, 1639, and many subsequent editions. There have been differences of opinion as to the origin of the title. Spedding's suggestion that Bacon here meant the idea of "a Collection of Collections" is probably the most reasonable one. The work is indeed a miscellaneous collection of various experiments and observations, many of which appear to us at the present day not only unscientific, but unreasonable and ridiculous. As Fowler says, however, "it is probably the best and most complete single collection of the kind that up to that time had been published."

Bacon not only gives minute details of many experi-

ments made by himself, but also refers to many facts recorded by Aristotle, Pliny, Sandys, etc. All these are contained in one thousand paragraphs; and, as showing the nature and diversity of the subjects discussed, a few may be mentioned, such as the following: The conversion of air into water, Nature of flame, Actions of various medicines on the body, Nutritive value of meats and drinks, Diets, Musical sounds, Germination of plants, Sleep, Preservation of bodies, Odours, Sympathy of men's spirits, etc.

The New Atlantis

It will be convenient to consider this work here, not only because it was published at the conclusion of the first edition of the *Sylva Sylvarum*, as "his Lordship designed," but also for the reason that it was considered by the author himself to have a "neare affinity with the *Naturall History*."

Though probably written about the year 1624, it was first issued—though the title page bears no date—in 1627, and it was subsequently many times reprinted, appearing with every edition of the *Sylva* up to the year 1676. It was translated into French in 1631, and into Latin in 1633. A good translation into the latter tongue by Rawley in 1638 came out in folio form, along with other productions of Bacon; and finally, among the reproductions may be mentioned an article entitled *Essay VII, the Summe of my Lord Bacon's New Atlantis*, published in 1676 in a volume bearing the general title *Essays on several important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, by Joseph Glanvill, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE "SYLVA SYLVARUM," 1627

NEVV
ATLANTIS

A VVorke vnfinished.

VVritten by the Right Honourable, FRANCIS
Lord Verulam, Viſcount St. Alban.

The introduction "To the Reader" by Rawley runs as follows:—

"This fable my lord devised, to the end that hee might exhibite therein, a modell or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men; under the name of Salomons House, or the College of the Six Dayes Works. And even so farre his lordship hath proceeded as to finish that part. Certainly, the modell is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things; notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable, to have composed a frame of lawes, or of the last state or mould of a commonwealth; but foreseeing it would be a long worke, his desire of collecting the *Naturall Historie* diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it. This worke of the *New Atlantis* (as much as concerneth the English edition) his lordship designed for this place; in regard it hath so neere affinitie (in one part of it) with the preceeding *Naturall Historie*."

This work has always been held in high esteem, and although left in an unfinished state, it certainly is one of Bacon's most interesting productions. Spedding says: "Among the few works of fiction which Bacon attempted, the *New Atlantis* is much the most considerable." It is interesting to note that it is supposed to have "suggested the foundation and programme of our own Royal Society."

Bacon's principal object in the execution of this work seems to have been to establish the idea of "a model

political constitution and a model college of philosophy"; as he here says, "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret notions of things and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." His method and treatment of the whole subject exhibit his imaginative genius to an extent not to be found in any of his other literary productions.

After a truly original description of a "voyage imaginaire," attended with great privation and hardship, a Utopian "fair city" on an unknown island is discovered in the Pacific Ocean. He presents the picture of an ideal institution under the designation of "Solomon's House," existing in a State—the model of perfection—where there was to reign a happy constitution of superior intellectual development. The riches, joys, and fascinations of this fair spot, as well as the necessary accessories to the well-being and scientific advancement of man, are recounted by the "Father of the House." And finally, various devotional exercises are described for the "illumination" of their labours, and for "the turning them into good and holy issues."

The character of the work may possibly not appeal to all, but it is well written, and leads the reader to contemplate a condition of things that Bacon vainly anticipated might be the ultimate realization of his natural history work "carried on through successive generations."

SCALA INTELLECTUS AND PRODROMI

Instauratio Magna, Parts IV and V

With reference to these two treatises one has little to say, beyond the fact that Bacon had here intended to instruct us how "to gradually ascend the logical ladder (per scalam veram)," after we had accumulated the necessary experiences and observations in our Natural History studies. He did not get very far in this, however, for only a very small portion of either of them is left to us. Rawley makes no mention of them, and the date of their composition is not known. What remains of them was published by Grüter in 1653. It was Spedding's opinion "that they were intended as prefaces to the fourth and fifth part of the *Instauratio* respectively."

Whatever Bacon may have written of the *last part* of the *Instauratio*—the *Philosophia Secunda*—it was never published, and we know nothing of it beyond the fact that it was probably intended "to contain the results of the application of the New Philosophy to all Phenomena."

THE LITERARY WORKS

Of all Bacon's works the one that stands highest in popularity and importance is his earliest literary production—*The Essays.* They were first published in a small duodecimo volume in the year 1597, with the title *Essayes, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion & Dissuasion—Scene & allowed*, and dedicated to his "deare Brother M. Anthony Bacon," as follows:—

"Loving and beloved Brother, I doe nowe like some that have an Orcharde ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; to labour the staie of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to adventure the wrong they mought receive by untrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, than the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did ever hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing men's conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I have played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes travaile abroade, I have preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myselfe, that her Majestie mought have the service of so active and able a mind, and I mought be with excuse confined to these Contemplations and Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preservation of the divine

Eſſayes.

Religious Meditations.

Places of perſwaſion and diſſwaſion.

Seene and allowed.

AT LONDON,
Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be ſold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane.
1597.

Majestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30 of Januarie 1597."

It contained only ten Essays, the subjects of which were as follows:—

(1) Of Studie. (2) Of Discourse.
(3) Of Ceremonies and Respects.
(4) Of Followers and Friends. (5) Of Sutors.
(6) Of Expence. (7) Of Regiment of Health.
(8) Of Honour and Reputation.
(9) Of Faction. (10) Of Negociating.

These were printed in English, as was also *The Coulers of Good and Evill*, at the end of the volume. The *Meditationes Sacrae* occupied a place between the two, and appeared in Latin. They had each a separate title page. The pagination of the *Colours* and *Meditations* was continuous, and independent of that of the Essays.

A second edition was issued in 1598 (in this the *Meditationes Sacrae* were translated into English), and they were further reprinted in 1604 and 1606. In 1612 an enlarged edition, printed by John Beale, was published, dedicated to his "loving Brother" Sir John Constable, containing, according to the "Table of Contents," forty Essays, but the last two on *Of Publikes* and *Of Warre and Peace* were not included. This edition contained the Essays only, and "The Table" enumerates the subjects as follows:—

(1) Of Religion. (2) Of Death.
(3) Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.
(4) Of Cunning. (5) Of Marriage and Single Life.

(6) Of Parents and Children. (7) Of Nobilitie.
(8) Of Great Place. (9) Of Empire.
(10) Of Counsell. (11) Of Despatch.
(12) Of Love. (13) Of Friendshippe.
(14) Of Atheism. (15) Of Superstition.
(16) Of Wisdom for a Man's selfe.
(17) Of Regiment of Health. (18) Of Expenses.
(19) Of Discourse. (20) Of Seeming Wise.
(21) Of Riches. (22) Of Ambition.
(23) Of Young Men and Age. (24) Of Beautie.
(25) Of Deformitie. (26) Of Nature of Men.
(27) Custome and Education. (28) Of Fortune.
(29) Of Studies. (30) Of Ceremonies and Respects.
(31) Of Sutors. (32) Of Followers.
(33) Of Negociating. (34) Of Faction.
(35) Of Praise. (36) Of Judicature.
(37) Of Vaine Glory.
(38) Of Greatness of Kingdomes.
(39) Of the Publikes. (40) Of Warre and Peace.

Lowndes makes no mention of the 1604 edition, so he styles the one published in 1606 the third edition, and adds that the latter appears to be a "pirated reprint" of the second issue. Another edition appeared in the year 1612, printed by John Jaggard. This Lowndes also describes as "pirated." It is an interesting copy, being divided into *two parts;* the *first* contained the ten Essays of the original; and the *second,* placed after the *Meditationes* and *Coulers of Good and Evill,* has the additional twenty-nine, thus making a total of thirty-nine.

The Essay of *Honour and Reputation,* which does

THE ESSAIES OF Sr FRANCIS BACON Knight, the *Kings Solliciter* Generall.

Imprinted at *London* by IOHN BEALE, 1612.

not appear in the former edition, is added. Of the three last-named editions Aldis Wright, in his preface to the *Essays*, says :—

"A pirated edition was printed for John Jaggard in 1606, and in 1612 he was preparing another reprint, when the second author's edition appeared. In consequence of this, Jaggard cancelled the last two leaves of quire G, and in their place substituted 'the second part of the Essaies,' which contains all the additional Essays not printed in the Edition of 1597. On the authority of a manuscript list by Malone, Mr. Singer mentions an edition in 1604, but I have found no trace of it."

In the next edition—1613—though the "Table" enumerates forty-one Essays, we find only thirty-nine actually printed. The one *Of Honour and Reputation* is placed at the end, but those *Of the Publique* and *Of Warre and Peace* are mentioned in the "Table," but not published, nor do they seem ever to have found a place among any of his writings.

A small octavo edition was issued by Andro Hart in Edinburgh in 1614, and other reprints again appeared in London in the years 1619, 1622, and 1624. Then came the *Quarto*, which was published in 1625, and which was the last that appeared during Bacon's life, as he died the year following. This was the complete edition of fifty-eight Essays. Twenty altogether new ones had been added, and many of the others had been altered and enlarged. The following subjects were then included :—

(1) Of Truth. (2) Of Death.
(3) Of Unity in Religion.

(4) Of Revenge. (5) Of Adversitie.
(6) Of Simulation and Dissimulation.
(7) Of Parents and Children.
(8) Of Marriage and Single Life.
(9) Of Envy. (10) Of Love.
(11) Of Great Place. (12) Of Boldnesse.
(13) Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature.
(14) Of Nobility. (15) Of Seditions and Troubles.
(16) Of Atheisme. (17) Of Superstition.
(18) Of Travaile. (19) Of Empire.
(20) Of Counsell. (21) Of Delayes.
(22) Of Cunning.
(23) Of Wisedome for a Man's Selfe.
(24) Of Innovations. (25) Of Despatch.
(26) Of Seeming Wise. (27) Of Friendship.
(28) Of Expence.
(29) Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates.
(30) Of Regiment of Health. (31) Of Suspicion.
(32) Of Discourse. (33) Of Plantations.
(34) Of Riches. (35) Of Prophecies.
(36) Of Ambition. (37) Of Masques and Triumphs.
(38) Of Nature in Men.
(39) Of Custome and Education. (40) Of Fortune.
(41) Of Usurie. (42) Of Youth and Age.
(43) Of Beauty. (44) Of Deformity.
(45) Of Building. (46) Of Gardens.
(47) Of Negociating.
(48) Of Followers and Friends. (49) Of Sutours.
(50) Of Studies. (51) Of Faction.
(52) Of Ceremonies and Respects.
(53) Of Praise. (54) Of Vaine-Glory.

THE ESSAYES OR COVNSELS, CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. *VERVLAM*,

VISCOVNT S^t. ALBAN.

Newly written.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET.
1625.

(55) Of Honour and Reputation.
(56) Of Judicature. (57) Of Anger.
(58) Of Vicissitude of Things.

These were reprinted in 1629, 1632, 1639, and in many subsequent editions.

Translations into Italian and French soon appeared, and of these the Italian rendering by his old friend Tobie Mathew, dedicated to Cosmo de Medici, should be mentioned. The title ran as follows: *Saggi Morali con un altro suo Trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi, tradotti in Italiano Lond: 1618.*

His translation of *The Wisdom of the Ancients* followed immediately after the Essays, and occupied more than half of the little volume. This was also the *first edition* of the latter work in Italian.

While alluding to this part of the subject one should refer to the excellent translation into French by Arthur Gorges in the year 1619. It is a rare book, but a copy of it may be seen at the British Museum. The earliest German translation of which I can find any record is the one printed at Nuremberg in 1654. Of this there is also a copy in the British Museum. Archbishop Tenison, in speaking of the Latin translation of the *Essays*, and of the book itself, says :—

"The *Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral*, though a by-work also, do yet make up a book of greater weight by far than the *Apothegms;* and coming home to men's business and bosoms, his lordship entertained this persuasion concerning them, that the Latin volume might last as long as books should last. His lordship wrote them in the English tongue, and enlarged them

as occasion served, and at last added to them the *Colors of Good and Evil*, which are likewise found in his book *De Augmentis*. The Latin translation of them was a work performed by divers hands: by those of Dr. Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield), Mr. Benjamin Jonson (the learned and judicious poet), and some others whose names I once heard from Dr. Rawley, but I cannot now recall them. To this Latin edition he gave the title of *Sermones Fideles*, after the manner of the Jews, who called the words Adagies or Observations of the Wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible propositions worthy of firm assent and ready acceptance."

Rawley published a folio volume in 1638, entitled *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, in which appeared a Latin translation of the *Essays—Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum*. The other subjects included in the book were as follows :—

Historium Regni Henrici Septimi Regis Angliae.
Tractatum de Sapientia Vetorum.
Dialogum de Bello Sacro.
Et Novum Atlantidem.

It is uncertain how much of this translation was actually performed by Bacon, or indeed whether he did any of it himself. He, no doubt, would take very good care that the work was entrusted to reliable hands, and no one would do more justice either to him or his books than his old friend Rawley.

Of the later editions, that issued by Bensley in 1798 is interesting from a bibliographical point of view. Four copies of this were printed in folio on large paper

SAGGI MORALI

DEL SIGNORE

FRANCESCO BACONO,

CAVAGLIERO INGLESE,

GRAN CANCELLIERO

D'INGHILTERRA.

Con vn' altro ſuo Trattato

DELLA SAPIENZA

DEGLI ANTICHI.

Tradotti in Italiano.

IN LONDRA

Appreſſo di Giovanni Billio.

1618.

for the Countess Spencer, and she presented one to each of the following, viz. the Duke of Devonshire, the Rev. C. M. Cracherode, Mr. James, and Lord Spencer. These presentation copies are specially mentioned both by Montague and Lowndes, and the latter authority states that one of these copies is now in the British Museum. Some years ago I was fortunate enough to obtain one of these beautiful issues. It had formerly been in the Earl of Gosford's library, but from which of the four original libraries it was derived I cannot be certain. This is the only copy I have seen. In it the Essay on *Death* and the *Fragment of an Essay on Fame* are included.

One word regarding the so-called *spurious essays*. Rawley in his *Resuscitatio*, 1657, published what he calls "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works, both in English and Latin—as for other pamphlets, whereof there are several put forth under his Lordship's name, they are not to be owned for his."

An Essay of a King, though printed in 1648 in *The Remaines of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam*, is not included in the *Resuscitatio*, and the composition is not believed by many to be the work of Bacon. Mr. Spedding is convinced that *An Essay on Death* is also spurious, and alludes to the possibility of its being from the pen of Sir Thomas Browne. If this piece was genuine surely Rawley would have mentioned the fact and included it in his list, but he does not do so.

Mr. Spedding, in his preface to this part of the subject, says: "Among the innumerable editions of Bacon's *Essays* that have been published, there are only four which, as authorities for the *text*, have any original or

independent value ; namely, those published by Bacon himself in 1597, in 1612, and in 1625 ; and the Latin version published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. The rest are merely reprints of one or other of these."

As for the more recent editions of the *Essays*, it would be almost impossible to enumerate them. Even those of our own day have been many, and some of them are rendered all the more valuable to the student by the addition of instructive notes by different writers. With these the ordinary reader will be more or less acquainted, and so, in this connexion, in addition to the names of Spedding and Ellis, it is hardly necessary to mention those of Basil Montague, Whately, Aldis Wright, etc.

An interesting fact with reference to an early American edition is mentioned by Montague in his *Notes*. He says: "The first book published in Philadelphia consists partly of the volume of Essays. It is entitled *The Temple of Wisdom*, printed by William Bradford, Philadelphia, 1688."

When Bacon published his book of *Essays* he was thirty-eight years of age, and therefore in the very prime of his intellectual activity. It is true he had not yet encountered those bitter experiences that, a few years later, were thrust upon him, but he had already been placed in many difficult positions, both public and private, which enabled him to well appreciate the mental attitudes and ambitions of those who entered into his varied life. His sensitive brain and acute observation had already had great opportunities of gathering much material, which was now so well utilized in the formation of those brilliant and unique *Essays*.

From the year when they were first issued, till his final edition of 1625, Bacon was constantly correcting and adding to them; as he said, "I always alter when I add, so that nothing is finished till all is finished."

In the *Essays*, Dean Church says, "he writes as a looker-on at the game of human affairs, who, according to his frequent illustration, sees more of it than the gamesters themselves, and is able to give wise and faithful counsel, not without a touch of kindly irony at the mistakes he observes."

In character they were aphoristic and epigrammatic, especially the earlier ones, and in this respect have been likened to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. As we approach the later editions, especially the one published in 1625, we find his thoughts become less condensed and his language more fluent, but he never frees himself from that conciseness and happy brevity of expression on which to a very large extent the charm of his *Essays* depends. They are often suggestive of some sudden mental impression or recollection, and a characteristic abruptness of expression frequently ushers in the Essay, to be gradually expanded into a moral exhortation, adorned with apt quotation and metaphor. His Essay *Of Revenge* is a good illustration of this, which begins: "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out." And again, his *Meditations* had led him to the sayings of Seneca, and he opens the Essay *Of Adversity* thus: "It was a high speech of Seneca—that the good things that belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things which belong to adversity are to be admired," and he concludes the theme with the well-

known dictum "for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue." This was one of his latest and most beautiful productions.

It is unnecessary to multiply such instances as the above. They are well known to all readers, and have already been exhaustively discussed by many writers.

I cannot better conclude this part of our subject than by adding Macaulay's eulogium: "It is in the *Essays* alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There he opens an exoteric school, and talks to plain men, in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust to judge for themselves; and the great body of readers have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions with which they are familiar may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school."

The *Meditationes Sacrae* and *Colours of Good and Evill* were both published with the first edition of *Essays*. The former treatise was printed in Latin, and consisted of a series of sermons under various heads: Bacon's subsequent literary and philosophical works contained many of the ideas that are here discussed. These *Meditations* were twelve in number, on the following subjects: *Of the Works of God and Man; Of the Miracles of our Saviour; Of the Innocency of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent; Of the Exaltation of Charity; Of the Moderation of Cares; Of*

Earthly Hope; Of Hypocrites; Of Impostors; Of the Several Kinds of Imposture; Of Atheism; Of Heresies; Of the Church and the Scripture.

It will be noticed that the subject of *Atheism* is included, and it was not until 1612, in the edition of the *Essays* of that year, that he again treats of this in a separate Essay. It is to be found also in the 1625 edition, considerably enlarged and altered.

The *Colours of Good and Evill*, ten in number, were a collection of "colourable arguments on questions of good and evil, with answers to them." These fallacies and "popular signs" were contained in the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, a manuscript by Bacon, in the British Museum, already referred to, and were collected by him many years previously to the publication of the fully illustrated tract. It has been stated on good authority that, in the first instance, a copy of the manuscript was sent by the author to Lord Mountjoy, to whom it had probably been dedicated. The contents of this little work, with some additions, afterwards found a place in the *Advancement of Learning*. Those who are interested in these special literary items may be referred to the works of Montague and Spedding.

THE HISTORICAL WORKS

As we turn our attention to this division in our classification, the one work that pre-eminently claims our special study is Bacon's *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry VII*, published in April, 1622. Issued in a small folio, it contained a portrait of the King by Payne, and opened with a dedication to Charles Prince of Wales.

It was reprinted in 1629, and many times subsequently. It should be mentioned in this connexion that there has just been sold at Sotheby's rooms (March, 1910) a most rare copy of this work, which bears the date 1628. The following note was appended to the description of it in the catalogue: "A hitherto unknown edition, of which there is no copy in the British Museum, and no record in the printed catalogues of any of the great libraries, public or private. It must have been suppressed for some reason, as the bibliographers are not aware of any issue between the original of 1622 and the so-called second edition of 1629." An edition in Latin was published by Dr. Rawley in 1638, and it had previously been translated into French by Holman in 1627.

The subject had been recommended to him by the King some years previously, but it was not begun till early in the summer of 1621, almost immediately after he had been released from the Tower, and it was finished in October of the same year. It is evident, therefore, that while at Gorhambury he did not spare himself in this literary task, and we know from his notes on this and kindred subjects, prepared many years before, that it was one in which he had always taken a very special and deep interest. Through his friend Sir Thomas Meautys we learn that Bacon sent the manuscript to the King for his correction; and as showing his anxiety for the success of the work, we are informed that a number of his friends were pressed for their opinions and criticisms before it had passed into the publisher's hands.

It was ably written and well received; for it was

THE

HISTORIE

OF THE RAIGNE

OF KING

HENRY

The Seuenth.

Written

By the Right Honourable,

FRANCIS,

Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount

S^t^. *Alban.*

LONDON,

Printed by *W. Stanſby* for *Matthew Lownes*, and *William Barret.*

1622.

acknowledged to be a faithful representation of the character of Henry, and in general outline and detail the history of the period was considered sufficiently accurate to be followed by later historians.

There has existed a good deal of controversy as to Bacon's object in writing this work when he did, and it may not be out of place just to refer to this. Sir James Mackintosh, for instance, says: "Lord Bacon was the man of highest intellect among the writers of history, but he was not the greatest historian"; and he further adds: "It is due in the strictest justice to Lord Bacon not to omit that the history was written to gratify James I, to whom he was then suing for bitter bread. . . ." Mr. Spedding does not agree with this view, replying: "Is it not the very same subject which at least fifteen years before he had wished *some one else* to undertake for the simple purpose of supplying a main defect in our national literature? Did not the defect still remain? and was he not now at leisure to undertake the subject himself? Why then seek any further for his motive in choosing it?" After a careful consideration of the point at issue, I believe the more general opinion will be that Bacon did not write this history with the object of flattering the King. It certainly was not his *sole* object. Any one who wishes to inquire farther into this interesting question may be referred to Spedding's preface to the *History of Henry VII* (Vol. VI of the *Works*).

Bacon at this stage of his literary career did not seem at all anxious to continue his historical researches, although Prince Charles had urged him to do so.

Several items, however, not of any great importance, did follow from his pen.

The History of Henry the Eighth, which seems to have been contemplated by him several years before, was now begun. Of this he accomplished a very small portion, and what there is left to us may be seen in manuscript in the British Museum. It was published by Dr. Rawley in 1629 in *Certain Miscellany Works of the Right Hon. Francis Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.*

Another unfinished historical tract—*The Beginning of the History of Great Britain*, composed probably about the year 1609—was first published in Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, 1657. It deals with various interesting events in the early years of James the First's reign, and according to Spedding "is one of the best things of the kind that Bacon ever wrote."

In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethae

Written in the year 1608, this little work was not published until 1651, when it appeared in a small duodecimo volume along with two other tracts; and it afterwards found a place in Dr. Rawley's *Opuscula Varia Posthuma* (1658).

A reliable translation taken from the original manuscript copy in the British Museum has been rendered by Mr. Spedding, and is well worth consulting. That Bacon himself had a very high opinion of the production may be inferred from the fact that he specially mentions it in his will, with a wish that it should be published. It is a dissertation on the virtues of the Queen and the troubles and factions she experienced and overcame. He speaks of the "temper of her people, eager for war,

THE FELICITY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH: And Her Times,

With other Things;

By the

RIGHT HONORABLE

FRANCIS L^d BACON

Viſcount S^t *Alban*.

LONDON, Octob: 8.

Printed by *T. Newcomb*, for *George Latham* at the Biſhops Head in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1651.

and impatient of peace"; and adds: "This peaceable disposition of hers, joined with success, I reckon one of her chiefest praises; as being happy for her people, becoming her sex, and a satisfaction to her conscience." He refers to the Spanish Armada and her victory, and that she was "not less happy in disappointing conspiracies than in subduing the forces of her open enemies." Reference is also made to the plots which the priests had designed, and the legal measures which she enacted to foil the attacks made upon herself and her domain. He ends this most interesting tract with the words: "To speak the truth, the only proper encomiast of this lady is time, which for so many ages it has run, never produced anything like her, of the same sex, for the government of a kingdom."

In Henricum principem Wallie Elogium Francisci Baconi

The manuscript of this historical Eulogium is to be found in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, from which it was first printed by Birch in 1763, and it has since been translated into English by Spedding. In it the mental and physical excellencies of the Prince are described by Bacon, who seems to have been much impressed by the simplicity and attainments of the young man's character both in his public and private life; for he speaks of his reverence and affection towards the various members of his family, his devotion to learning and love of the arts, and his "curiosity and capacity" attracting all those around him. So it was said of the lad: "Whoever diligently observed what fell from him, either by way of question or remark, saw it

to be full to the purpose and expressive of no common genius." Again, to quote from this study: "He had, by the excellence of his disposition, excited great expectations among great numbers of all ranks; nor had the shortness of his life disappointed them." Henry Prince of Wales died on the 6th of November, 1612, aged nineteen years, "to the extreme concern and regret of the whole kingdom." There was a rumour that he had been poisoned, but Bacon says "this soon vanished, as no signs of this appeared."

Imagines Civiles Julii Caesaris, et Augusti Caesaris

Under this title I have to refer to two short treatises. The one on *Julius Caesar* was probably finished by Bacon, but of the other only a small fragment remains, and it is quite possible that more of it never was written than appears in the works of different writers. These, as well as his other short histories, were written and published in Latin. The *Imagines* first appeared in Dr. Rawley's *Opuscula* in 1658, and they were subsequently (1661) translated into English, in the second edition of the *Resuscitatio*. The first of these, that on *Julius Caesar*, described the characteristics of the man, his passions, understanding, and actions. Bacon alleges that "he worked only for his own present and private ends"; that "he endeavoured after fame and reputation, as he judged they might be of service to his designs"; and that "he courted reputation and honours only as they were instruments of power and grandeur." And the last portion of this essay, after further dilating on Caesar's personal attainments—his learning and pleasures—finishes thus: "This being

his character, the same thing at last was the means of his fall which at first was a step to his rise, viz. his affectation of popularity; for nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies. Through which virtue, or cunning, he lost his life."

The unfinished item on *Augustus Caesar* is in a somewhat different tone. In it Bacon draws a comparison between the two characters. As illustrating this he says: "For Julius Caesar, being of a restless, discomposed spirit . . . cleared the way to his own ends with the utmost address and prudence. His error was the not rightly fixing his ends. . . . Whereas Augustus, sober and mindful of his mortality, seemed to have thoroughly weighed his ends, and laid them down in admirable order." And the conclusion of this fragment is worth adding: "Hence in his youth he affected power; in his middle age, dignity; in his decline of life, pleasure; and in his old age, fame and the good of posterity."

RELIGIOUS AND POETICAL WORKS

I will refer to these in the following order:—

1. *Meditationes Sacrae.*
2. *A Confession of Faith.*
3. *The Characters of a Believing Christian in Paradoxes and Seeming Contradictions.*
4. *The Prayers.*
5. *Translation of Certain Psalms.*
6. *Poetry and Poetical Works.*

Allusion has already been made to the first—the *Meditationes Sacrae*—in connexion with the *Essays*,

including a brief mention of the *Colours of Good and Evil* at the same time, and I do not propose to discuss the subjects or contents of these further than has already been done, for no other better reason than that the treatises themselves are always at hand with the *Essays* for consultation and study.

A Confession of Faith

It has been stated that the religious feelings and sentiments of Bacon are almost everywhere to be found in his various works, but it is not from such "incidental allusions," as Spedding says, that "we are left to gather his Creed." In his own *Confession* we have it explicitly set forth. This formulary was first printed in quarto form in the year 1641, and is a little work of excessive rarity. Indeed, this special edition was unknown to Lowndes and Hazlitt, and of late years, so far as I know, only two copies have appeared for sale—one in May, 1903, and the other in May, 1905, both at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms. It contains a large portrait of Bacon on the title. The next publication of this tract was in *The Remaines* (1648), and it was subsequently issued in the *Mirrour of State and Eloquence* in 1656, and also included in the *Resuscitatio* the year following. There are altogether four manuscripts of it in the British Museum, and they all fairly well agree; two of them, however, are the work of a later hand than the others. It was probably written in the year 1603, and it is interesting to remember that at this very time his life was full of anxiety, not only with weighty problems of State, but also with pressing private concerns. In

his ambition he was then most eager to obtain high office under James the First, and the appointment of King's Counsel was then bestowed upon him. About this date also his *Apology concerning the Earl of Essex* appeared. Thus it is that at almost every turn of his eventful life we not only observe the "dual nature" of the man, but the versatility of his mental powers is strikingly apparent.

As an evidence that contemporary opinion testified to Bacon's sincerity as a believing Christian, Dr. Rawley says: "For that treatise of his Lordship, inscribed *A Confession of Faith*, I have ranked in the close of this whole volume; thereby to demonstrate to the world, that he was a Master in Divinity, as well as in Philosophy and Politics, and that he was versed no less in the saving knowledge, than in the universal and adorning knowledges; for though he composed the same many years before his death, yet I thought that to be the fittest place, as the most acceptable incense unto God of the faith wherein he resigned his breath, the crowning of all his other perfections and abilities, and the best perfume of his name to the world after his death. This confession of his faith doth abundantly testify that he was able to render a reason of the hope that was in him." Spedding closes his remarks on this subject thus: "If any one wishes to read a *summa theologiae* digested into seven pages of the finest English in the days when its tones were finest, he may read it here."

The Characters of a Believing Christian in Paradoxes and Seeming Contradictions

This tract will be found published in *The Remaines*, 1648. It is not mentioned either by Rawley or Tenison, but it is said to have been printed as a *separate* publication in the year 1643. I have never seen a copy. There are some fragmentary papers on the subject, both in the British Museum and Lambeth Library, which are supposed to be the work of Bacon, but this is quite hypothetical. Even Montague, than whom a more conscientious collaborator has never lived, stamps this item as *spurious*. Spedding is not so pronounced in his opinion, as I understand him; but it must be borne in mind that there are many who recognize here the hand of Bacon, and would always include it among his works. As taken from *The Remaines*, we perceive the author's attitude towards his Creator, his conduct of life, the advantages of self-abnegation, the mercy and providence of God, etc. As a specimen of its style and character, the concluding paragraphs may be quoted: "He lives invisible to those that see him, and those that know him best do but guess at him; yet those many times judge more truly of him than he doth himself." And again: "The world will sometimes account him a saint when God accounteth him a hypocrite; and afterwards, even when the world branded him for a hypocrite, then God owned him for a saint."

The Prayers of Bacon

Four of these have been preserved for our study. The first is called the *Student's Prayer*, and was pub-

lished by Tenison in the *Baconiana* (1679). This supplication is in the following words:—

> "We humbly and earnestly beg that Human things may not prejudice such as are Divine; neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds towards Divine Misteries. But rather, that by our mind throughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the Divine Oracles, there may be given unto Faith the things that are Faith's."

The Author's Prayer is also to be found in the *Baconiana*, appearing at the same time as the above. The tenor of this may be judged by the concluding invocation: "Wherefore if we labour in Thy works with the sweat of our brows, thou wilt make us partakers of thy Vision and Sabbath. We humbly beg that this mind may be steadfastly in us, and that thou, by our hands, and also by the hands of others, on whom thou shalt bestow the same spirit, wilt please to convey a largeness of new alms to thy family of Mankind. . . ."

The *third*, entitled *A Prayer made and used by the late Lord Chancellour*, is a much more lengthy supplication, and was first printed in *The Remaines* in 1648. It was used by Bacon himself, and may be considered very beautiful both in structure and intention. It was couched in terms of submission, sincerity, and lofty aspiration, and at the close the Father is invoked to

grant his mercies to "all those that are in need, misery, and distress," and to vouchsafe them "patience and perseverance in the end and to the end."

The *fourth* Prayer is also one "made by the Lord Chancellor of England," and may be found in Rawley's *Resuscitatio.* For our purpose it is scarcely necessary to add any further observations on these productions. For a more extended study of them the reader may be referred to the Prayers themselves, as printed in the original works of Tenison and Rawley, and more recently reprinted by Spedding in one of his volumes specially devoted to this portion of our subject.

Translation of Certain Psalms

Under the title *Certaine Psalmes in Verse*, a small quarto was published in London in 1624. Lowndes, in his *Bibliographer's Manual*, gives the date as 1625, but as a matter of fact these verses were first printed in December of the former year. They were dedicated to his old friend George Herbert. This will be specially alluded to later, when discussing the literary friends of Bacon.

It has been suggested that being very deeply in debt at the time, Bacon's object in publishing these translations was to relieve himself from the pressing pecuniary claims of his printer. As has been pointed out by Dr. Abbott, however, "it seems unlikely that a little pamphlet could have gone far in the direction of paying the printer's bill for the author of such abstruse works as the *Novum Organum* and subsequent Latin works," and this writer further suggests that "he may have published them as a kind of thankoffering for his recovery." To my own

THE TRANSLATION OF CERTAINE PSALMES INTO ENGLISH VERSE:

By

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

Francis

Lo. VERVLAM,

Viſcount

Sr. ALBAN.

Lib. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon, ex dono Joh. Newton. S. S. Th. Baccalarei, et Coll. Encænasi olim Socij. Anno. D. CIↃ. IↃC. IV. Oct.

LONDON,
Printed for *Hanna Barret*, and *Richard Whittaker*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Kings Head in Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

mind, the latter is the more reasonable view, especially when we consider that Bacon, being well aware that his health was still so uncertain, would naturally lean towards such devotional exercises.

The Psalms which he thus translated were the 1st, 12th, 90th, 104th, 126th, 137th, and 149th; and inasmuch as an examination of them involves a consideration of Bacon's versification, his claims as a *poet* are naturally suggested. There are few questions in the whole realm of literature that have caused keener discussion or provoked harsher criticism than this—*Was Bacon a poet?* The Shakespeare-Bacon controversy has done much to emphasize this inquiry, but unfortunately only too often it has resulted in drifting men's minds away from the initial question, and in consequence Bacon has had either too much or too little left to his credit! There are those who have taken the trouble to read his poetical writings with an unbiased mind who agree with Coleridge that "Bacon was not only a great poet, but a great philosopher." With this opinion I cannot agree, any more than I could here place the *poet before* the philosopher. Still more difficult would it be to admit that Bacon was the author of the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare. These are not the work of the "great philosopher" as we know him.

The following is a portion of the first Psalm, which, however, can scarcely be considered one of his best:—

> "He shall be like the fruitful tree,
> Planted along a running spring,
> Which, in due season, constantly
> A goodly yield of fruit doth bring;
> Whose leaves continue always green,

And are no prey to winter's pow'r:
So shall that man not once be seen
Surprised with an evil hour."

His translation of the 90th Psalm is better, and we may take a stanza of this as an example:—

"Thou carriest man away as with a tide:
Then down swim all his thoughts that mounted high;
Much like a mocking dream that will not bide,
But flies before the sight of waking eye;
Or as the grass, that cannot term obtain
To see the summer come about again."

Spedding in alluding to this portion of the Psalm says: "The thought in the second line could not well be fitted with imagery, words, and rhythm more apt and imaginative, and there is a tenderness of expression in the concluding couplet which comes manifestly out of a heart in sensitive sympathy with nature, and fully capable of the poet's faith

that every flower
Enjoys the air it breathes."

It should be remembered that we have had many of the highest literary culture in this country who eulogized Bacon as a poet of great distinction, including Shelley, Lytton, and Macaulay. The first of these says "his language has a sweet and majestic rhythm, which satisfies the sense no less than the intellect." Macaulay, in one place, speaks of "the poetical faculty as powerful in Bacon's mind." In his allusion to the 104th Psalm Spedding says that "the heroic couplet could hardly do

its work better in the hands of Dryden," and another reference by the same commentator may be added. He says: "For myself at least I may say that, deeply pathetic as the opening of the 137th Psalm always seemed to me, I have found it much more affecting since I read Bacon's paraphrase of it." As far as we know, up to this time his literary labours had almost altogether been confined to *prose*, and the poetry he has left us was composed hurriedly in failing health, and on a theological subject not the best suited to exhibit his poetic fancy and style. That he possessed great imaginative power and "poetical faculty" we must admit, though we may not allow him a foremost place in the rank of poets. This is very evident in much of his prose, as in some of the Essays and other works, and will be obvious to any one who will employ the interesting experiment suggested by a recent writer of "paraphrasing in verse the prose essays." But one must remember that Bacon was essentially a student of nature, ever striving after truth in all its departments. Little wonder, therefore, that his imagination was scarcely ever allowed to take him into the paths of the poet.

One has said that "he had all the natural faculties which a poet wants—a fine ear for metre, a fine feeling for imaginative effect in words, and a vein of poetic passion." That he had a high opinion of his own abilities in this direction seems evident, for in a letter written to Sir John Davies, the poet, in the year 1603, he speaks of himself as a "concealed poet."[1] As

[1] The first publication of this letter may be found on page 62 of *The Remaines* (1648).

a further proof that he had been the author of certain poetical pieces we have the authority of Stow and Homes in their *Annales*. He is here included "among our moderne and present excellent poets." In an article written by Mr. George Stronach in the *Fortnightly Review* (March, 1905) this testimony is referred to, as well as a very pertinent allusion to the dedication of Edmund Waller's *Poems* (1645). In this the following passage occurs: "Not but that I may defend the attempt I have made upon Poetrie, by the examples of many wise and worthie persons of our own time, as Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Fra. Bacon . . . these Nightingales sung onely in the Spring, it was the diversion of their youth."

Waller evidently had in his mind some youthful poetical productions by Bacon, though we are practically left in the dark as to what these were. The British Museum contains at least two short poetical efforts which are attributed to Bacon, but the evidence here is very uncertain. That he did occasionally write short poems and sonnets we have undoubted testimony in some of his writings, not frequently read. For instance, I find in a passage in *The Apology concerning Essex*, when speaking of a visit of the Queen to him at Twickenham, he says: "At which time I had, though I profess not to be a poet, prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Majesty's reconcilement to my lord: which I remember I shewed to a great person, and one of my lord's nearest friends who commended it."

In the year 1629 Thomas Farnaby published a collection of Greek Epigrams, with the title *Florilegium Epigrammatum Grecorum Eorumque Latino Versu a*

Η τῆς ἀνθολογίας Ἀνθολογία.

Florilegium

EPIGRAMMATVM GRÆCORVM, EORVMQVE LATINO VERSV à varijs redditorum.

LONDINI,
Excudebat *Felix Kyngſtonius*,
1629.

variis redditorum, and in this is found a poem by Bacon, which is generally accepted as quite genuine. It appears under the heading *Huc elegantem U.C.L. Domini Verulamii παρωδιαν adjicere adlubuit.* This English version by Bacon is a parody on the Latin version of the *Seven Ages of Man*, and Farnaby supplies a Greek translation on the opposite page. As portions of this poem have frequently been quoted by certain literary combatants, I may be allowed to add it in its entirety:—

"The world's a bubble, and the life of man
Lesse than a span,
In his conception wretched from the wombe,
So to the tombe;
Curst from the cradle, and brought up to yeares
With cares and feares.
Who then to fraile mortality shall trust,
But limmes the water, or but wrestes in dust.

"Yet, since with Sorrow here we live opprest,
What life is best?
Courts are but only superficial Schooles
To dandle Fooles:
The Rurall parts are turn'd into a Den
Of savage men:
And where's a City from all Vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

"Domesticke Cares afflict the Husband's Bed,
Or paines his Head:
Those that live single, take it for a Curse,
Or doe things worse:

Some would have Children, those that have them none;
Or with them gone:
What is it then to have, or have no Wife,
But single Thraldome, or a double Strife?

"Our owne Affections still at home to please,
Is a Disease:
To crosse the Sea to any forraigne Soile,
Perils and Toile:
Warres with their noyse affright us: when they cease,
W'are worse in Peace:
What then remaines? but that we still should cry,
Not to be borne, or being borne, to dye."

In the appendix to Joshua Silvester's *Panthea, or Divine Wishes and Meditations*, published by him, and revised by James Martin in 1630, we discover an English version under the heading *Human Life Characterized: By the Right Noble Peere, Francis Viscount St. Albans, late L. High Chancelor of England.* Aubrey refers to the "excellent verses of his Lordship's, which Mr. Farnaby translated into Greek," and subsequent writers always mention the fact that it was first printed by Farnaby in 1629, but I do not think that Silvester's publication has been pointed out by any of them. Undoubtedly the *Panthea* is an excessively rare volume, and the copy I possess is especially interesting, as it was formerly in the Walmisley library, being a presentation copy to Lady Juliana Walmisley, her sister Mrs. Mary Walmisley, Lady Anne Osborne,

Apophthegmes NEW AND OLD.

COLLECTED BY THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

Francis

LO. VERVLAM,

Viſcount

ST. ALBAN.

LONDON,
Printed for *Hanna Barret*, and *Richard Whittaker*, and are to be ſold at the Kings Head in Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

and Mrs. Elizabeth Sherborne, with J. Martin's autograph inscription filling the whole page before the title.

Among the poems found among the papers of Sir Henry Wotton we also have an English version of the same poem, and this was published in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* in the year 1651.

Apophthegms, New and Old

This little collection of maxims and pithy sayings—two hundred and eighty altogether—was first published in a small duodecimo edition in 1625, and reprinted the year following. The preface reads thus :—

" Julius Caesar did write a collection of apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero. I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is a pity his book is lost ; for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice, whereas that of Plutarch and Stobaeus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use : they are Macrones Verborum, pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calls them salinas, salt pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech : they serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves : they serve, if you take the kernel of them, and make them your own. I have for my recreation in my sickness fanned the old ; not omitting any because they are vulgar (for many vulgar ones are excellent good), nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat, and added many new that otherwise would have died."

One would expect to find that when Rawley first published the *Resuscitatio* in 1657 he would have included

this work among the compositions of Bacon, but we notice he does not do so, and it has been supposed that he did not consider it of sufficient importance to have a place in the "perfect list of his Lordship's true works." The evidence of its authenticity, however, is now quite established.

There appeared another small duodecimo edition in 1658. This contained only 184 Apophthegms by Bacon, and was entitled *Witty Apophthegms delivered at several times, and upon several occasions, by King James, King Charles, the Marquis of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moore.* With reference to this, Tenison in the *Baconiana* states that "His Lordship hath received much injury by late editions of which some have much enlarged, but not at all enriched, the collection; stuffing it with tales and sayings too infacetious for a ploughman's chimney corner. And particularly, in the collection not long since published. . . . For besides the addition of insipid tales, there are some put in, which are beastly and immoral: such as were fitter to have been joined to Aretine or Aloysia, than to have polluted the chaste labours of the Baron Verulam."

In the second edition of the *Resuscitatio* (1661), seventy-one of the original Apophthegms are omitted and thirty-nine new ones added. It has been assumed that Rawley made up this collection from loose and imperfect manuscripts, as the order and text are so entirely changed. Montague suggests, however, that as this edition was published during Rawley's lifetime, the additions were probably genuine. A good deal of meddling and alteration in these Apophthegms evidently took place in the later editions; for instance, by referring

to the 1671 edition of the *Resuscitatio*, it will be seen that the number of them had been increased to 308. Indeed, after Rawley's death in 1667, little reliance can be put in the accuracy of such publications. It is evident that during this period of ill-health the activity of Bacon's mind never seemed to abate. The year before his death he was still busy and full of purpose; for it will be remembered that he then published, in an extended form, the final edition of the *Essays*, as well as the translation of the Psalms; and we cannot help being impressed with the pathetic sadness of the moment, as he now tells us that these final efforts are to him a "recreation" in his sickness.

In order to illustrate the character of the work and the variety of the subjects here discussed, a few of these Apophthegms, taken at random, may be added.

"Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her own nature; and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh being a wise man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would say to her, 'Madam, you do well to let suitors stay; for I shall tell you, bis dat, qui cito dat; if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner.'"

"Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was Keeper of the Great Seal of England, when Queen Elizabeth, in her progress, came to his home at Gorhambury, and said to him, 'My lord, what a little house you have gotten!' answered her, 'Madam, my house is well; but it is you that have made me too great for my house.'"

"There was a young man in Rome, that was very like Augustus Caesar. Augustus took knowledge of him, and sent for the man and asked him, 'Was your

mother never at Rome?' He answered, 'No, sir, but my father was.'"

The Wisdom of the Ancients

Bacon wrote this popular little work in the year 1609, and it was then first published, in Latin, under the title *De Sapientia Veterum Liber.* It was issued in a small duodecimo volume containing 129 leaves, with an introduction and dedication; further reprints in the same form appeared in 1617 and 1633. The first English translation was made by his great admirer Sir Arthur Georges in 1619. This was also a small 12mo edition, the title of which ran as follows: *The Wisdome of the Ancients, written in Latine—By the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon Knight, Baron Verulam and Lord Chancelour of England.* It had a dedication to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James the First and wife of the Elector Palatine. This remained the only English translation until the year 1836, when Pickering published Montague's work. Of foreign translations, that of Tobie Mathew into Italian has already been referred to with the translation of the *Essays* in 1618.

A short time before his death Bacon desired that this work should be included, with the Latin translations of *Henry the Seventh,* the *Essays, New Atlantis,* etc., in a special volume, and this was done some years afterwards by Rawley in his *Operum Moralium et Civilium,* published in 1638. Also it may be mentioned here that three of the Fables, in a somewhat altered form, were included in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* in 1623.

FRANCISCI
BACONI
EQVITIS AVRATI,
PROCVRATORIS SECVNDI, IACOBI REGIS
Magnæ BRITANNIÆ,

DE SAPIENTIA VETERVM LIBER,

Ad Inclytam Academiam Cantabrigienſem.

LONDINI,
Excudebat ROBERTVS BARKERVS, Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Maieſtatis Typographus.
ANNO 1609.

Soon after its completion, Bacon, when sending Tobie Mathew a copy of the book, writes as follows :—

"I do very heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompence therefore I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into silver and become current: had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth; but, I think, the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so with my wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness. From Gray's Inn. Feb. 27, 1610."

Tenison, in his reference to the work, in the *Baconiana*, says it is "a book in which the sages of former times are rendered more wise than it may be they were by so dextrous an interpreter of their fables"; and Mallet speaks of it as becoming "the same stamp of an original and inventive genius with his other performances."

Bacon's motive in writing this treatise is somewhat uncertain, and has not been understood by many writers.

Probably one object he had in view was "to obtain a more favourable hearing for certain philosophical doctrines of his own." Also he meant to make clear, by an original method, the conclusions he had drawn from the various mental attitudes and actions suggested by these ancient Fables; and the deductions he presents to our minds are not only skilful in their argument and interpretation, but full of quaint surprises and moral significance.

As to the accepted meaning of the Fables themselves, this is quite a secondary consideration, as it seems to me; nor is it necessary, from a literary point of view, to criticize too closely the exact scientific signification of some of the views involved. That Bacon seemed to be ignorant of many problems already settled by acknowledged observers even of his own day is accepted, and not a little surprising to us; but this fact can scarcely detract from the value and interest of this treatise, so full of ingenuity and cultured phrase; a work, according to Macaulay, "which, if it had proceeded from any other writer, would have been considered as a masterpiece of wit and learning."

These Fables are thirty-one in number, and that on *Narcissus, or Self-Love*, may be taken as an example—not only of Bacon's beautiful literary style in dealing with this class of subject, but also his power of interpretation and apt illustration.

"Narcissus is said to have been extremely beautiful and comely, but intolerably proud and disdainful; so that, pleased with himself, and scorning the world, he led a solitary life in the woods; hunting only with a few followers, who were his professed admirers, amongst whom the nymph Echo was his constant attendant. In

THE WISEDOME OF THE ANCIENTS,

WRITTEN IN LATINE
By the Right Honourable Sir
FRANCIS BACON *Knight,*
Baron of Verulam and
Lord Chancelour of
England.

Done into Engliſh by Sir
Arthur Gorges Knight.

Scutum inuincibile fides.

LONDON
Imprinted by IOHN BILL.
1619.

this method of life it was once his fate to approach a clear fountain, where he laid himself down to rest, in the noonday heat; when, beholding his image in the water, he fell into such a rapture and admiration of himself, that he could by no means be got away, but remained continually fixed and gazing, till at length he was turned into a flower, of his own name, which appears early in the spring, and is consecrated to the infernal Deities, Pluto, Proserpine, and the Fairies. This fable seems to paint the behaviour and fortune of those, who, for their beauty, or other endowments, wherewith nature (without any industry of their own) has graced and adorned them, are extravagantly fond of themselves: for men of such a disposition generally affect retirement, and absence from public affairs; as a life of business must necessarily subject them to many neglects and contempts which might disturb and ruffle their minds. Whence such persons commonly lead a solitary, private, and shadowy life; see little company, and those only such as highly admire and reverence them; or like an Echo, assent to all they say. And they who are depraved, and rendered still fonder of themselves by this custom, grow strangely indolent, unactive, and perfectly stupid. The Narcissus, a spring flower, is an elegant emblem of this temper, which at first flourishes, and is talked of, but when ripe, frustrates the expectation conceived of it. And that this flower should be sacred to the infernal powers, carries out the allusion still further; because men of this humour are perfectly useless in all respects; for whatever yields no fruit, but passes, and is no more, like the way of a ship in the sea, was by the ancients consecrated to the infernal shades and powers."

THE PROFESSIONAL WORKS

To undertake a detailed description of the separate works which fall to this portion of our subject, however brief, would not only be a task more fitting a legal mind, but for our present purposes quite unnecessary.

The subjoined list of tracts, legal papers and documents, with the information bearing thereon, has practically been taken from the works of Montague and Spedding, as well as from the collections in the British Museum and my own library. After a careful collation of the manuscripts, correcting them, and adding certain notes of his own, Mr. Spedding published many of them separately, with a preface to each. In Basil Montague's edition the Speeches and many letters bearing on judicial matters are well set forth, with interesting prefaces; and to a few of them very useful notes are appended. So that for an intimate acquaintance with this portion of Bacon's literature it is necessary for the inquirer to turn to these two standard works, and he may then supplement his knowledge by a perusal of the various manuscripts readily available at the British Museum.

A few of the principal speeches and papers have already been alluded to in connexion with Bacon's public affairs, but I will now enumerate all those attributable to him that have come to my notice, and it may be a convenience to refer to them under four heads, viz.—(1) Speeches; (2) Law Tracts; (3) Legal Arguments; (4) Star-Chamber Charges, etc.

The SPEECHES include the following:—

The Speech of the Lord Chancellor of England, in the Exchequer Chamber touching the Post-nati.
Delivered 1608, and first printed 1641.

Naturalization of the Scotch in England.
First printed 1641.

Union of the Laws of the Kingdoms of England, and Scotland. First printed 1641.

A Report made by Sir Francis Bacon Knight, in the House of Commons of a Speech by the Earl of Salisbury, and another by the Earl of Northampton upon Spanish Grievances. Delivered 1608.

Notes of a Speech concerning a War with Spain.
First printed 1624.

A Petition touching Purveyors. Delivered 1603.

About the Undertakers. Delivered 1615.

On the Grievances of the Commons.
Delivered 1610.

On Wards and Tenures.

Declaration for the Master of the Wards.
Delivered 1610.

On persuading the House of Commons to desist from further question, on receiving the King's messages by their Speaker, etc. Delivered 1610.

Of Impositions on Merchandises imported and exported.
Delivered 1610.

On persuading some Supply to be given to his Majesty, etc. Delivered 1610.

Touching the scarcity of Silver at the Mint.

To the Speakers Excuse.

Upon the motion of Subsidy. Deliver[illegible] 1597.

LAW TRACTS

A Collection of some principall Rules and Maxims of the Common Laws of England. First printed 1630.

The Use of the Law. First printed 1629.

The Learned Reading. First printed 1642.

The Elements of the Common Laws of England. First printed 1630.

Discourse upon the Commission of Bridewell.

An Account of the Office of Compositions for Alienations. Written 1598.

A Draught of an Act, against a usorious shift of gain, in delivering Commodities instead of Money.

Advice to the King for reviving the Commission of Suits.

LEGAL ARGUMENTS

The Case of Impeachment of Waste, Before the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber.

Low's Case of Tenures, In the King's Bench.

The Case of Revocation of Uses, In the King's Bench.

The Jurisdiction of the Marches.

The Office of Constables, with Answers to Questions.

Ordinances made for the better and more regular administration of Justice in Chancery to be daily observed.

Case De non procedendo Rege inconsulto.

A Proposition for the repressing of singular combats or duels.

Reasons why the New Company is not to be trusted and cont[illegible]ted with the trade of Clothes.

Cas[illegible] of Treason.

Certai[illegible] Reasons and Arguments of Policy, why the

THE CHARGE OF SIR FRANCIS BACON KNIGHT, HIS Maieſties Attourney generall, touching *Duells*, vpon an information in the *Star-chamber* againſt Prieſt and Wright.

WITH

The Decree of the Star-chamber in the ſame cauſe.

Printed for *Robert Wilſon*, and are to be ſold at Graies Inne Gate, and in Paules Churchyard at the ſigne *of the Bible*. 1614.

King of England should hereafter give over all further Treaty, and enter into war with the Spaniard.

A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons by Robert Earl of Essex. First printed 1601.

Bacon's Apology in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex. First printed 1604.

Considerations touching a war with Spain. First printed 1629.

A wise and moderate Discourse concerning Church affairs. First printed 1641.

Discourse of the happy Union of England and Scotland. Written 1603. First published 1603.

Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England. Written 1603. First published 1604.

Essay of a King. First published 1642.

Sixteen Propositions concerning the Reign and Government of a King. First published 1647.

Relation of the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. First published 1651.

Offer of a Digest of the Laws.

Proposition for compiling an Amendment of our laws.

Certain Observances upon a Libel, published this present year 1592.

A True Report of the detestable Treason intended by Doctor Roderigo Lopez, a Physician attending upon the Queen's Majesty, whom he, for a sum of money promised to be paid him by the King of Spain, did undertake to have destroyed by poison; with certain circumstances both of the plotting and detecting the said Treason. Penned during the Queen's Life.

STAR-CHAMBER CHARGES, &c.

The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Majesties Attorney Generall touching Duells, upon an information in the Star-Chamber against Priest and Wright, With the Decree of the Star-Chamber in the same cause. Delivered 1614. First published 1614.

The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, the King's Attorney General, against William Talbot, a counsellor at Law, of Ireland, upon an information in the Star-Chamber. Delivered 1614.

The Charge given by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Majesty's Attorney General, against Mr. Oliver St. John, for scandalising and traducing in the public sessions, letters sent from the Lords of the Council touching the Benevolence. Delivered 1615.

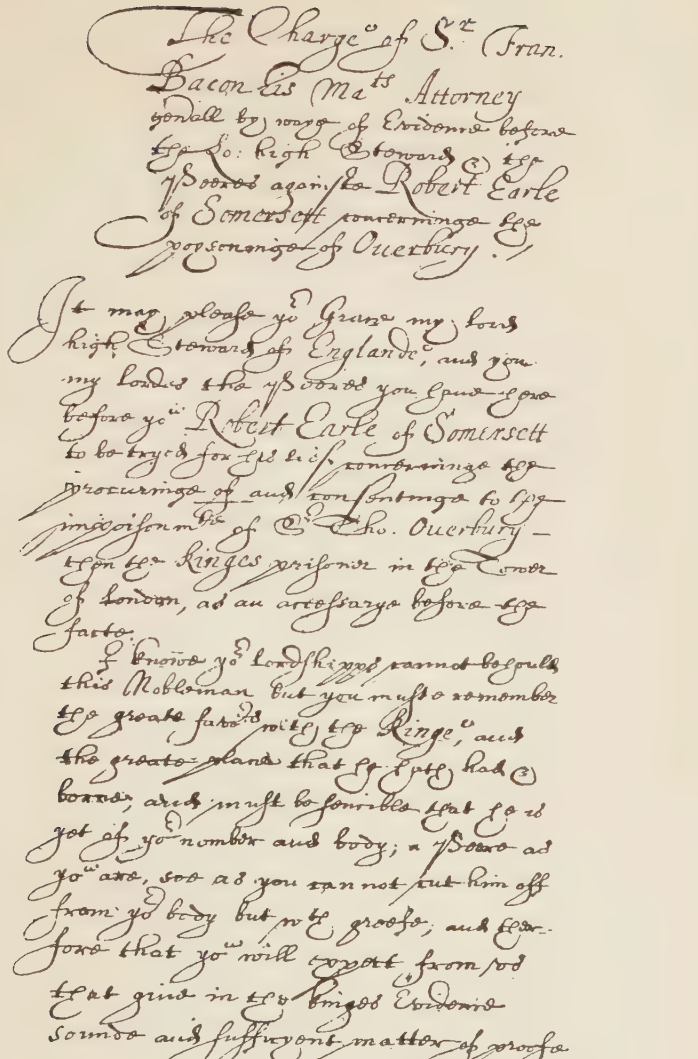
The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Majesty's Attorney General, against Frances Countess of Somerset, intended to have been spoken by him at her arraignment on Friday, May 24. 1616, *in case she pleaded not guilty.*

The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Majesty's Attorney General, by way of evidence, before the Lord High Steward, and the Peers, against Robert, Earl of Somerset, concerning the poisoning of Overbury.

The Speech which was issued by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Circuits, the King being then in Scotland, 1617.

The Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, to Sir William Jones, upon his calling to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 1617.

The Speech of Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper, in the



First page of Contemporary Manuscript of *The Charge against Robert Earle of Somersett concerninge the Poysoninge of Overbury*, 1616

Exchequer to Sir John Denham upon his calling to be one of the Barons of ye Exchequer in 1617.

The Speech of Sr. Fran: Bacon Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England in the Courte of Common Pleas to Justice Hatton upon his calling to be one of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

The Charge of Owen indited of high treason in the King's Bench by Sr. Francis Bacon, Knighte, His Majesty's Attorney Generall.

The Charge of the partie Parliament in Ireland which brake and receded from Parliamente there assembled and after came over to justifie and excuse the same, by Sr. Fran: Bacon his Majesties Solicitor, before his Majstie sitting in Counsell where the delinquents were convented.

The Charge against Mr. Lumsden, Sir John Wentworth, and Sir John Holles, for scandal and traducing of the King's Justice in the proceedings against Weston in the Star-Chamber—Nov: 10. 1615.

A Charge at the arraignment of the Lord Sauquhar, in the King's Bench at Westminster—June 29. 1612.

A Speech by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, at the taking of his place in Chancery, in performance of the charge His Majesty had given him when he received the Seal. May 7—1617.

The Charge against Whitelocke—1613.

I have the contemporary manuscripts of nearly all of these Star-Chamber Speeches. Expert opinion pronounces them not in Bacon's own writing, but executed by some official, employed for the purpose of taking down verbatim such Charges.

Although no attempt will here be made to discuss

seriatim these various Tracts and Speeches, there are a few which call for a brief mention. Among the Speeches, the first three mentioned are of special interest, more particularly the *Post-Nati*. This was delivered by Bacon in the Exchequer Chamber in the year 1608, when he was Solicitor-General. It dealt with the union of England and Scotland, a subject which was very dear to the King; and the manner in which the case was conducted was greatly applauded, not only by James, but by all who had the privilege of listening to the able discussion of the points involved. It marked him as an orator of unusual ability, and enhanced his reputation in the management of difficult cases probably more than any speech he ever delivered.

It may be stated that the Commissioners who were appointed to consider the Union declared that by law the natives in both countries, born after the accession of James the First, were naturalized in both. The Commons not consenting to this, a committee from this House, after a deliberation with certain representatives of the Lords in 1607, assented to the introduction of the measure by Bacon.

The *Post-Nati* was printed long after his death (1641), along with the other two tracts dealing with the same subject. There was one *general* title page to these, and the licence ran as follows :—

"15 May. 1641—At a Committee appointed by the Honourable House of Commons in Parliament for examination of books, and of the licencing and suppressing of them, It is ordered that these three Speeches or treatises be published in print. Edward Dering."

THREE SPEECHES

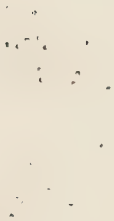
OF

The Right Honorable, *Sir Francis Bacon* Knight, then his Majesties Sollicitor Generall, after LORD VERULAM, Viscount Saint Alban.

Concerning the { POST-NATI / *Naturalization of the Scotch in England* / *Vnion of the Lawes of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland.*

Published by the Authors Copy,
and
Licensed by Authority.

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Badger*, for *Samuel Broun*, and are to be sold at his shop in St. *Pauls Church-yard* at the signe of the white Lyon and Ball.
1641.



A COLLECTION OF SOME PRINCIPALL RVLES and MAXIMES of the Common Lawes of ENGLAND,

WITH THEIR LATITVDE and EXTENT,

Explicated for the more facile Introduction of ſuch as are ſtudiouſly addicted to that noble Profeſsion.

By Sir FRANCIS BACON, then Sollicitor *generall to the late renowned Queene* Elizabeth, *and ſince Lord Chancellor of* ENGLAND.

Orbe paruo ſed non occiduo.

LONDON,
Printed by the Aſsignes of *Iohn Moore* Eſq.
Anno cIↃ.IↃ.c.xxx.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

From the above it would appear that this was the first authentic edition of each of the three Speeches. I have by me, however, a copy of *A Speech delivered by Sir Francis Bacon in the lower House of Parliament quinto Jacobi, concerning the Article of Naturalization of the Scottish Nation*, also dated 1641. This Speech was therefore printed separately, in the same year as the triple Tract, and is additionally interesting as containing an excellent portrait of Bacon opposite the title page.

As has been seen, his Tracts on legal subjects were many, having for their object the elucidation of the laws and customs of the land. The *Maxims* were probably written in 1597, and first published in 1630 with the second edition of *The Use of the Law*. There are at least two manuscripts of the tract, one in the Cambridge Library and the other in the British Museum. They are not identical, for the former, bearing the date 1596, is a much shorter document, having twenty rules only instead of twenty-five, as in the Harleian manuscript at the British Museum. It is probable that Bacon himself made additions to the smaller copy. It is quite possible that the *Use of the Law* may be "spurious." Of the two manuscripts of this known to Heath, one was among the Harleian papers and the other with the Sloane collection. In neither case did the author's name appear, and their texts differ. It was probably written about the same period as the *Maxims*, and appeared in print for the first time in 1629. It was then published anonymously in the same quarto with Sir John Dodderidge's *Lawyer's Light*, bearing a distinct title page and having a separate pagination. In the following year (1630) a

second edition appeared with the first issue of the *Maxims of the Law*, as we have seen, and in this quarto we find a general title page, and also a separate one to each treatise. Here we notice for the first time on the title of the *Use of Law*, "By the L: Verulam Viscount of S. Albon's," etc.

In connexion with this portion of our subject, a word may be added with regard to *The Learned Reading of Sir Francis Bacon*. It is termed "his double Reading to the Honourable Society of Graye's Inne," and was given in the Lent vacation of 1600, on the subject of "The Statute of Uses." This tract was first printed in 1642. To give an example of Bacon's style in introducing his views on such questions, and of his fondness for metaphorical methods, the opening sentence may be quoted:—

"I have chosen to Read upon the Law of Uses made 27 Hen. 8. a Law whereupon the Inheritances of this Realme are tossed at this day like a Ship upon the sea, in such sort that it is hard to say which Barke will sinke, and which will get to the Haven, that is to say, what assurances will stand good and what will not; whether in this any lack or default in the Pilots their grave and learned Judges: but the Tydes and Currents of received errours, and unwarranted and abusive experience, have been so strong, as they were not able to keepe a right course. . . ." He then proceeds to discourse on "the nature and definition of a Use"; what may be considered "reasonable and convenient" in a Statute dealing with Uses, and the "Rules and Expositions" of the Laws to be applied.

Many of these legal documents and papers Bacon

THE VSE OF THE LAVV.

Provided for Preſervation

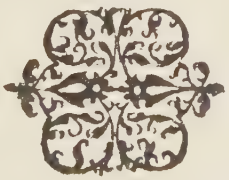
OF

Our { *Perſons.* / *Goods, and* / *Good Names.* }

According to the Practiſe

OF

The { *Lawes* / *and* / *Cuſtomes* } *of this Land.*



LONDON.
Printed for BEN: FISHER, and are to bee ſold at his Shop without *Alderſgate*, at the Signe of the *Talbot*. 1629.

The LEARNED READING Of Sir Francis Bacon,

One of her Majesties learned Counsell at Law, upon the Statute of USES:

Being his double Reading to the Honourable Society of GRAYES Inne.

Published for the Common good.

LONDON:
Printed for *Mathew Walbancke*, and *Laurence Chapman*. 1642.

no doubt had intended to publish, as several of the most important were found bearing his own corrections; very few of them, however, could have appeared in a printed form during his lifetime.

LETTERS OF BACON

The earliest composition by Bacon discovered by Spedding is a letter written in his twentieth year from Gray's Inn. It was dated July 11th, 1580, and addressed to Mr. Doyly, then in Paris. Beyond the fact that this seems to be the first of his writings, there is no special interest attached to it. It is to be found among the Lambeth manuscripts.

At least three other letters have come to our knowledge, all written from Gray's Inn in the same year. One of these is addressed to Lady Burghley (September 16th, 1580), another of the same date to Lord Burghley (both among the Lansdowne manuscripts), and the third dated October 18th, 1580, likewise to Lord Burghley.

Many of Bacon's letters were written during the reign of James the First, and were collected and published by Robert Stephens in 1702. We also have a pretty full publication by David Mallet, which will be found in the fourth volume of his *Works* (1740). Several letters, printed *in extenso*, will be found here addressed to Queen Elizabeth upon various subjects, such as on the presentation by Bacon of New Year's gifts to the Queen, the choice of Commissioners in the Star-Chamber, written during the year 1600, and another in the same year concerning the Earl of Essex. There are also

many to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earl of Essex, etc., including "A Letter of Advice to my Lord Essex immediately before his going into Ireland 1599." Following these are the letters written in James the First's reign. William Rawley in his *Resuscitatio* (1657) publishes the "several Letters by this Honourable Authour, to Queen Elizabeth, King James, divers Lords and others"; and in the same volume, following a separate title page, "Other Letters, by the same Honourable Authour, written in the Dayes of Queen Elizabeth." All these collections have subsequently been included in the more comprehensive works of Montague and others.

On referring to this department of the writings of Bacon, one is struck with his habit of frequently addressing letters of "Advice" or "Expostulation" to various persons who held office at the same period; sometimes these were of a congratulatory character, at others most condemnatory, and according to our present interpretation, most vindictive. As an example of the former type, let us briefly notice his Advice to Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, on his becoming a favourite with the King in the station of Prime Minister. Bacon begins by commending his ambition and complimenting him on his fitness for such advancement. Then he proceeds to give his advice for his "carriage in so eminent a place," and the danger of an unwise discharge of duty. Later he says, and the passage is worth quoting, "Remember well the great trust you have undertaken, you are as a continual Centinel, always to stand upon your watch to give him true intelligence; If you flatter him, you

A LETTER OF ADVICE WRITTEN BY Sr. Francis Bacon *To the Duke of* Buckingham, *When he became Favourite to* King James, Never before Printed.

London, Printed for *R. H.* and *H. B.* and are to be sold at *Westminster* and the Royal Exchange, 1661.

betray him, if you conceal the truth of those things from him which concern his justice or his honour (although not the safety of his person) you are as dangerous a traitor to his state, as he that riseth in arms against him. A false friend is more dangerous than an open enemy. . . ." He ends his long admonition with a series of exhortations to the effect that this new "favourite" should be "rightly persuaded and settled in the true protestant religion, professed by the Church of England," that he should not be "an instrument to countenance the Romish catholics," that "Colleges and schools of learning are to be cherished and encouraged," adding that "this kingdom hath in latin ages been famous for good literature." His concluding remarks deal with the promotion of justice; the services and duties of counsellors of state; foreign negotiations; trade, both at home and abroad; and the plantation of colonies, "which are very necessary, as outlets, to a populous nation, and may be profitable also if they be managed in a discreet way."

As we now turn to an expostulation to Lord Chief Justice Coke, we perceive Bacon in quite a different vein. A sentence or two from this communication will suffice to demonstrate Bacon's invective and method of attack:—

"All men can see their own profit, that part of the wallet hangs before. A true friend (whose worthy office I would perform, since, I fear, both yourself and all great men want such, being themselves true friends to few or none) is first to shew the other, and which is from your eyes.

"First therefore behold your errors. In discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men. . . . You cloy your auditory when you would be observed. Speech must be either sweet or short.

"You converse with books, not men, and books especially human; and have no excellent choice with men, who are the best books: for a man of action and employment you seldom converse with, and then but with your underlings; not freely, but as a schoolmaster with his scholars, ever to teach, never to learn: . . . You will jest at any man in public, without respect of the person's dignity or your own; this disgraceth your gravity, more than it can advance the opinion of your wit:

"And now we beseech you, my lord, be sensible both of the stroke, and hand that striketh; learn of David to leave Shimei, and call upon God; he had some great work to do, and he prepareth you for it; he would neither have you faint, nor yet bear this cross with a stoical resolution. There is a Christian mediocrity worthy of your greatness; I must be plain, perhaps rash."

At the end he says: "For friends, although your lordship be scant, yet I hope you are not altogether destitute; if you be, do but look upon good books: they are true friends, that will neither flatter nor dissemble; be you but true to yourself, applying that which they teach to the party grieved, and you shall need no other comfort or counsel."

It will at once be perceived that many of Bacon's finest and most delightful utterances are to be found in some of his letters, and it seems highly desirable that those who are interested in the literature of the period

should turn their attention rather more than they have done in the past to such sources of wit and wisdom. A little patient study in this direction will not only unfold unexpected gems of thought and homely philosophical truths, but will also assist in throwing much light on the true character of the author. Indeed, it is not a little surprising that the value and significance of Bacon's Letters have not hitherto been fully appreciated, especially those which appeared at various important epochs in his life and history. For instance, it has been well pointed out by Dr. Abbott that those written at the time of the "fall of Essex" "are well worth studying as specimens of Bacon's literary and, we may almost say, dramatic power." It would be quite unnecessary, and beside my present purpose, to reproduce examples in order to show how his mental processes and characteristics are illustrated and reflected in such writings.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

After Bacon's death many memoranda, including Speeches, Notes of Advice, Letters, etc., were found. The first collection of these was made by his old chaplain William Rawley, D.D., and published in a small quarto in the year 1629 under the title *Certaine Miscellany Works of the Right Honourable Francis Lo: Verulam, Vicount S. Alban.* It contained the four following tracts:—

(1) *Considerations touching a Warre with Spaine, written about five years since, and inscribed to his Majestie, at that time Prince of Wales.*

(2) *An Advertisement touching an Holy Warre, written in the yeare* 1622—*Dedicated to Lancelot Andrews.*

(3) *An offer to our late Soveraigne King James of A Digest to be made of the Lawes of England.*

(4) *The History of the Reigne of King Henry the Eighth.*

In 1627, the year after Bacon's death, Rawley had already published the *Sylva Sylvarum*, with the *New Atlantis.*

A folio was next issued in 1638 with the full title *Francisci Baconi Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-comitis Sancti Albani, Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus. Cura et Fide Guil: Rawley.* This began with an introductory dedication by Dr. Rawley to Prince Charles of Wales, and contained also a portrait of Bacon by Pass.

The following works, all written in Latin, were published in this volume, viz. *The History of Henry the Seventh; The Essays; The Wisdom of the Ancients; A Treatise concerning a Holy War; The New Atlantis; The De Augmentis Scientiarum; History of Winds;* and *The History of Life and Death.*

In the year 1648 a small quarto appeared, which was published anonymously. It was entitled *The Remaines of the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England, being Essayes and severall Letters to severall great Personages, and other pieces of various and high concernment not heretofore published.* This contained *An Essay of a King; An Explanation what manner of persons they*

CERTAINE

Miſcellany Works

OF

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE.

FRANCIS Lo. Verulam,

Viſcount S. ALBAN.

PVBLISHED

By *WILLIAM RAWLEY*,

Doctor of Diuinity, one of his Maieſties Chaplaines.

LONDON,

¶ Printed by *I. Hauiland* for *Humphrey Robinſon*, dwelling at the ſigne of the three Pigeons in *Paules* Church-yard. 1629.

FRANCISCI
BACONI,
BARONIS DE
VERVLAMIO, VICE-COMITIS
SANCTI ALBANI, OPERVM
MORALIVM ET CIVILIVM

Tomus.

Qui continet
- *Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi, Regis Angliæ.*
- *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.*
- *Tractatum de Sapientiâ Veterum.*
- *Dialogum de Bello Sacro.*
- *Et Novam Atlantidem.*

Ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donatus.

Curâ & Fide *Guilielmi Rawley*, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris, olim Dominationi suæ, nunc Serenissimæ Majestati Regiæ, à Sacris.

In hoc volumine, iterum excusi, includuntur

- *Tractatus de Augmentis Scientiarum.*
- *Historia Ventorum.*
- *Historia Vitæ & Mortis.*

Q^d tibi nomen fieri — Altera nè feceris

Cum Privilegio.

LONDINI.
Excusum typis *Edwardi Griffini*; Prostant ad Insignia Regia in Cœmeterio D. *Pauli*, apud *Richardum Whitakerum*. 1638.

should be, that are to execute the power of Ordinance of the King's Prerogative; Short Notes of civill conversation; An Essay on Death; His Opinion concerning the disposition of Suttons Charity, delivered to King James; A Letter of Advice written to Sir Edward Cooke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; A Letter to the Lord Treasurer in excuse of his speech in Parliament against the treble subsidy; A Letter to my Lord Treasurer, recommending his first suite touching the Sollicitor's place; A Letter of Ceremony to Queen Elizabeth upon the sending of a New Year's gift; Another to the Queen upon the like Ceremony; A Letter of Advice to the Earle of Essex, to take upon him the Care of the Irish businesse, when Mr. Secretary Cecill was in France; A Letter of Advice to the Earle of Essex upon the first Treaty with Tyron in 1598, *before my Lord was nominated for the charge of Ireland; Another Letter of Advice to my Lord immediately before his going into Ireland; A Letter to the said Earle, of offer of his service when he was first enlarged to Essex-house; Two Letters to be framed, the one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earle of Essex, the other as the Earle's answer thereunto delivered, with the advice of Mr. Anthony Bacon; My Lord of Essex his answer to Mr. Anthony Bacon's Letter; A Letter to Mr. Secretary Cecill, after the defeating of the Spanish Forces in Ireland; A Letter of Recommendation of his Service to the Earl of Northampton, a few days before Queen Elizabeth's death; A Letter of Offer of his service to his Majesty upon his first coming in; A Letter to Mr. Fauls in Scotland, upon the entrance of his Majesties Raign; A Letter of commending his love to the Lord of Kinlosse upon his Majesties entrance; Letter*

commending his love and occasions to Sir Thomas Challenor in Scotland, upon his Majesties entrance; A Letter to Mr. Davies, then gone to the King at his first entrance; A Letter to Mr. Fauls 28 *March* 1603; *A Letter to Dr. Morrison, a Scottish Physician, upon his Majesties coming in; A Letter to Mr. Robert Kenny upon the death of Queen Elizabeth; A Letter to my Lord of Northumberland mentioning a Proclamation for the King; A Letter to my Lord Southampton upon the King's coming in; A Letter to the Lord of Northumberland after he had been with the King; A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, touching the Advancement of Learning; A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst upon the like Argument; A Letter of Expostulation to the Attourney Generall Sir Edward Cook; A Letter to the Lord Chancellour of the like Argument; A Letter to the King concerning the Sollicitour place; A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury of courtesie upon New Year's guift; A second Letter to the Lord Chancellour; Another Letter to the Lord Chancellour touching the former argument; An Expostulatory Letter to Sir Vincent Skinner; A Letter to Mr. Davies his Majesties attourney in Ireland; A Letter to Mr. Pierce, Secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland; A Letter to Mr. Murrey; A Letter to my Lady Packington; A Letter to Mr. Matthews imprisoned for Religion; Sir Thomas Bodley's Letter to Sir Francis Bacon, about his Cogitata et visa, wherein he declareth his opinion freely touching the same; The Characters of a believing Christian in Paradoxes and seeming contradictions; A Confession of the Faith, written by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Viscount of St. Alban, about the time he was Sollicitour Generall to our late Soveraign Lord*

THE REMAINES OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE

FRANCIS Lord VERULAM

Viſcount of St. *Albanes*, ſometimes Lord Chancellour of *England*.

BEING

Eſſayes and ſeverall Letters to ſeverall great Perſonages, and other pieces of various and high concernment not heretofore publiſhed. A Table whereof for the Readers more eaſe is adjoyned.

LONDON:
Printed by *B. Alſop*, for *Lawrence Chapman*, and are to be ſold at his Shop neer the Savoy in the Strand, 1648.

TITLE-PAGE OF GRÜTER'S "SCRIPTA IN NATURALI ET UNIVERSALI," 1653

King James; A Prayer made and used by the Lord Bacon.

I have thought it wise to give in detail the list of the subjects included in this little volume in the order in which they may be found, for many of the items are of considerable interest and are here published for the first time.

It will be noticed that the first issue of Bacon's *Confession of Faith* and *A Prayer used by the Lord Chancellor Bacon* are to be found in these *Remaines.* The same may be said of the *Characters of a believing Christian.* This is certainly the first *available* publication of this interesting tract; and if there was a *separate* issue in 1643, as already suggested, I have not met with it.

Isaac Grüter published a small duodecimo volume at Amsterdam in 1653 under the title *Francisci Baconi de Verulamio Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia.* This was in Latin, and the subjects which it included were arranged under the six following heads:—

I. Cogitata et visa de Interpretatione Naturae.

II. Descriptio Globi Intellectualis.

III. Thema Coeli.

IV. De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris.

V. De Principiis atque originibus secundum Fabulas Cupidinis et Coeli.

VI. Impetus Philosophici in quibus continentur.

1. Indicta vera de Interpretatione Naturae.
2. Phenomena Universi.
3. Scala Intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi.

4. Prodromi, sive Anticipationes—Philosophiae Secundae.
5. Cogitationes de Natura rerum.
6. Filum Labyrinthi, sive Inquisitio legitima De motu.
7. Aphorismi, et Consilia de Auxiliis mentis.
8. De Interpretatione naturae Sententiae.
9. De Interpretatione naturae Proaemium.
10. Topica Inquisitio De luce et lumine.

A tract was published in the year 1656 with the title of *The Mirrour of State and Eloquence. Represented in the Incomparable Letters of the Famous Sr. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, St. Albans, to Queene Elizabeth, King James, and other Personages of the highest trust and honour in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland.*

It was a quarto, and, according to Lowndes' description, "contains pages 103, with title and contents three leaves. The running title is 'Bacons Remaines.'" On comparison it is in all particulars a reprint of the latter work, with the exception of the *title* page, and it is a little difficult to understand why this had been changed after the lapse of eight years. It contains an unusual portrait of Bacon, which much resembles that in the edition of the *Advancement of Learning* published by Gilbert Wats in 1640. On careful examination, however, certain differences will be detected. In the latter, as Bacon is seated at his desk writing, the book which lies before him has inscribed on it the title of the *Instauratio;* while in the former, the book in which Bacon is represented as making certain entries contains, in

The Mirrour of State
AND
ELOQVENCE.

REPRESENTED
In the Incomparable Letters of the Famous
Sr. FRANCIS BACON Lord *Verulam*, Sr. *Albans*, to
Queene ELIZABETH, King JAMES, and other Perſonages
of the higheſt truſt and honour in the three Nations
of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Concerning the better and more ſure Eſtabliſhment
of thoſe Nations in the affaires of *Peace* and *Warre*.

WITH
An ample and admirable accompt of his
Faith, written by the expreſs Command
of King IAMES:

Together with the Character of a true Chriſtian,
and ſome other adjunctis of rare
Devotion.

LONDON.
Printed for *Lawrence Chapman*, and are to be ſold at his Shop
next doore to the *Fountain* Taverne in the *Strand*,
1656.

Grace, Honour, vertue, Learning, witt,
Are all within this Porture knitt:
And left to time that it may tell,
What worth within this Peere did dwell

BACON FROM "THE MIRROUR OF STATE AND ELOQUENCE," 1656

addition to some writing which is difficult to decipher, the word "Faith." This is interesting, inasmuch as in the *Mirrour of State and Eloquence* we find Bacon's *Confession of Faith*, and it points to the fact that this portrait was specially designed for the work, indicating the accepted importance of the *Confession*, which is here reproduced. As far as we know, the *Remaines* was never issued with a portrait. There is a good copy of the little work among the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum.

Resuscitatio, or Bringing into Public Light several Pieces of the Works, Civil, Historical, Philosophical and Theological, hitherto Sleeping.

Such was the title of the much-esteemed folio edition, which was published by William Rawley in the year 1657. It was issued with a portrait of Bacon, and contained a narrative of his life, from which all subsequent biographers have been enabled to gather many important details relating to his private character and personal relations. Probably no one had the same opportunity of collecting the facts of Bacon's life, and the materials for the publication of his various tracts, as his old chaplain, and so we find he introduces his theme "To the Reader" in the following words:—

"Having been employed, as an Amanuensis, or dayly instrument, to this Honourable Author; and acquainted with his Lordship's Conceits, in the composing, of his Works, for many years together; especially in his writing time; I conceived that no man could pretend a better interest or Claim, to the ordering of them, after his

Death, than myself. For which cause I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true stamp of his Lordship's excellent Genius, and hath hitherto slept, and been suppressed; In this present volume, not leaving anything to a future Hand which I found to be of moment, and communicable to the Publick, Save only some few Latine works, which by God's favour and sufferance, shall soon after follow."

This folio contains in fact the translations and English works of Bacon, and in the subsequent editions of 1661 and 1671 a few other tractates were added.

In the first issue of the *Resuscitatio* the following subjects were published :—

1. *Speeches in Parliament, Star-Chamber, King's Bench, Chancery and otherwhere.*
2. *Observations upon a Libell, published in Anno* 1592.
3. *A true Report of Doctor Lopez, his Treason.*
4. *An Advertisement, touching the Controversies of the Church of England.*
5. *A Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth.*
6. *A brief Discourse of the Union of England and Scotland and Articles and Considerations, touching the Union, aforesaid.*
7. *A Beginning of the History of Great Britain.*
8. *A Letter and Discourse, to Sir Henry Savill, touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers.*
9. *Certain Considerations, touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England.*
10. *Certain Considerations, touching the Plantation in Ireland.*
11. *Advice to the King, touching, Mr. Sutton's Estate.*

Resuscitatio,

Or, Bringing into

PUBLICK LIGHT

SEVERALL

PIECES,

OF THE

WORKS,

Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological,

HITHERTO

SLEEPING;

Of the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON

Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount Saint *Alban*.

According to the best Corrected COPPIES.
Together, With his Lordships LIFE.

By WILLIAM RAWLEY, Doctor in Divinity, His Lordships First, and Last, CHAPLEINE.
Afterwards, CHAPLEINE, to His late MAIESTY.

LONDON,
Printed by *Sarah Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Fleetstreet*, at the sign of the Turks-head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1657.

12. *A Proposition to the King, touching the Compiling and Amendment of the Lawes of England.*
13. *A Fragment of an Essay of Fame.*
14. *Letters to Queen Elizabeth, King James, divers Lords and others.*
15. *Other Letters.*
16. *A Confession of the Faith.*

The *Opuscula Varia Posthuma Philosophica, Civilia et Theologica*, was the name given to a small octavo volume, containing some of the Latin works of Bacon, and published by Rawley in 1658. The title page contained the announcement "Cura et Fide Guilielmi Rawley, Sacrae Theologiae Doctoris, primo Dominationi suae, postea Serenissimae Majestati Regiae, à Sacris." This little work opened with a preface, and a life of Bacon by Rawley, followed by laudatory verses by George Herbert and John Burroughs, all in Latin. Its contents were:—

1. Historia Densi et Rari.
2. Historia, sive Inquisitio de Sono, et Audibilibus.
3. Articuli Inquisitionis de Metallis et Mineralibus.
4. Inquisitio de Magnete.
5. Inquisitio de Versionibus, Transmutationibus, Multiplicationibus, et Effectionibus Corporum.
6. Topica Inquisitionis de Luce et Lumine.
7. Epistola ad Fulgentium.
8. In felicem memoriam Elizabethae Angliae Reginae.
9. Imago Civilis Julii Caesaris.
10. Imago Civilis Augusti Caesaris.
11. Confessio Fidei.

After Rawley's death, Archbishop Tenison, who was at all times a great admirer of Bacon, obtained many of the papers pertaining to his work, and from these, in 1679, published an octavo volume, to which he gave the title *Baconiana, or Certain Genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam and Viscount of St. Albans.* This treatise he divided into five parts, as follows: (1) *Baconiana Politico-moralia*, under which certain Charges and Letters appeared. (2) *Baconiana Physiologica*, which contained Bacon's views on the Compounding and Union of Metals, the Incorporation of Iron with Stone, the Amalgamation of Metals, and many such problems. (3) *Baconiana Medica*, in which were recorded various papers dealing with the "Prolongation of Life" and Medical Receipts. (4) *Baconiana Theologica*, where we find only three items, viz. *Lord Bacon's Questions about the Lawfulness of a War for the Propagating of Religion*, and *Two Prayers composed by Sir Francis Bacon.* The first is what is known as "The Student's Prayer," and the other "The Writer's Prayer." (5) *Baconiana Bibliographica*, under which head were arranged certain papers relating to the books and life of Bacon; and among these appear three short literary extracts on his *Character*, which are well worth referring to as illustrating contemporary feeling and opinion, more especially as regards his philosophical attainments. The *first* is styled *A Character of Lord Bacon, Given by Dr. Peter Heylin, in his Life of Arch-Bishop Laud. Part I. Pag.* 64—*Anno* 1620." In this we read: "The Lord Chancellor Bacon, was a man of the most strong Brain, and a chymical Head; designing his endeavours

OPUSCULA

Varia Posthuma,

PHILOSOPHICA,

CIVILIA,

ET

THEOLOGICA,

FRANCISCI BACONI,

Baronis de *Verulamio* Vice-Comitis *Sancti Albani*,

Nunc primum Edita.

Cura & Fide GUILIELMI RAWLEY, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris, primo Dominationi suæ, postea Serenissimæ Majestati Regiæ, à Sacris.

Una cum Nobilissimi Auctoris Vita.

LONDINI,
Ex Officina R. DANIELIS, 1658.

to the perfecting of the Works of Nature; or rather improving Nature to the best Advantages of Life, and the common benefit of Mankind. Pity it was, he was not entertained with some liberal salary, abstracted from all Affairs both of Court and Judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of Means and Helps for the going on of his Design. Which had it been, he might have given us such a body of Natural Philosophy, and made it so subservient to the public good, that neither Aristotle, nor Theophrastus, amongst the ancients; nor Paracelsus, or the rest of our latter Chymists, would have been considerable."

The *second* appears under the title *A Character of the Lord Bacon given by Dr. Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society, Part I. Sect.* 16. *Pag.* 35–36. Referring here to the "New Philosophers who have disagreed from the Ancients," the biographer proceeds thus:—

"I shall only mention one Great Man who had the true Imagination of the whole extent of this Enterprize, as it is now set on foot; and that is, the Lord Bacon. In whose Books there are everywhere scattered, the best Arguments, that can be produced for the defence of Experimental Philosophy; and the best directions that are needful to promote it. . . . Who had always lived in the crowd, and borne the greatest burden of Civil Business; should yet find leisure enough for those retired Studies, to excel all those Men who separate themselves for this very purpose. He was a man of strong, clear, and powerful Imaginations. His Genius was searching, and inimitable. And of this I need give no other proof, than his

Style itself; which as, for the most part it describes men's minds, as well as pictures do their bodies: So it did His, above all men living. The Course of it was vigorous, and majestical: The Wit bold and familiar. The Comparisons fetched out of the way, and yet the most easie: In all expressing a Soul equally skilled in Men and Nature. . . ."

The *third* is described as *A Character of the Lord Bacon's Philosophy, by Mr. Abraham Cowley, in his Poem to the Royal Society.* The last few verses of this may be quoted:—

"From these, and all long Errors of the way,
In which our wandering Predecessors went
And like the old Hebrews many years did stray
In Deserts but of small extent,
Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last,
The barren Wilderness he past,
Did on the very Border stand
Of the blest promis'd Land,
And, from the Mountains top of his exalted Wit,
Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.
But Life did never to one Man allow
Time to discover Worlds, and conquer too;
Nor can so short a Line sufficient be
To fathom the vast depths of Nature's Sea.
The work he did we ought t'admire,
And were unjust if we should more require
From his few years, divided 'twixt th'excess
Of low Affliction, and high Happiness:
For who on things remote can fix his sight
That's always in a Triumph, or a Fight?"

BACONIANA.

Or Certain Genuine

REMAINS

OF

S^R. Francis Bacon,

Baron of VERULAM,

AND

Viſcount of St. ALBANS;

In Arguments *Civil* and *Moral*, *Natural*, *Medical*, *Theological*, and *Bibliographical*; Now the Firſt time faithfully Publiſhed.

An ACCOUNT of theſe *Remains*, and of all his *Lordſhip*'s other *Works*, is given by the Publiſher, in a Diſcourſe by way of INTRODUCTION.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the Roſe and Crown in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, 1679.

In the year 1702 Robert Stephens published the *Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, written during the Reign of King James the First*, and two subsequent editions of these *Letters*, both containing portraits of Bacon by Vertue, appeared in the years 1734 and 1736 respectively. The former of these was termed *Letters and Remaines*, and the latter, *Letters, Memoirs, Parliamentary Affairs, State Papers, with some curious pieces in Law and Philosophy*. It may be pointed out that at the end of this 1736 edition several of the early philosophical treatises or fragments composed by Bacon will be found, viz. *In praise of Knowledge; Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature, with the annotations of Hermes Stella; Filum labyrinthi; Sequela chartarum; de calore et frigore;* and *Redargutio philosophiarum*. The last tract is published in Latin. In this volume also *An Account of the Life of Bacon* is given.

With reference to this special portion of our subject, it should be mentioned that Thomas Birch, D.D., issued a collection of unpublished Letters and Speeches in 1763. This volume also contained some additional Charges, Advices, etc., as well as a Supplement.

John Blackbourne had the honour of being the first to publish a complete edition of the *Works* of Bacon. This appeared in 1730, in four folio volumes, having a portrait of Bacon by Vertue. Following this, in 1740, David Mallet issued his edition of the *Works*, which was also in four volumes. Lowndes says that a few copies of this were "printed on a *superfine large paper*," and that Mallet's *Life of Bacon* "was published *separately* in 1740." A reprint of these *Works*

came out in three volumes in 1753, which is described as being "more methodical, more elegant, and in every way more complete than any preceding."

Allusion has already been made to the translation of the *Novum Organum* by Dr. Peter Shaw in 1733. This was included in his publication of the *Philosophical Works methodized and made English from the Originals; with occasional Notes*, which was issued in this year. Since Mallet's, we have had several other editions of the *Works of Bacon* by different writers, and two of these must be specially mentioned, as being the most accurate and exhaustive, viz. those of Basil Montague (1825), and Ellis, Spedding, and Heath (1857).

Lastly, in this connexion, it may be permitted to refer to certain well-known publications with which we have been favoured since these greater and more comprehensive works. The majority of readers are familiar with Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon*, and though we may not wholly agree with the views and criticisms it contains, it must always be acknowledged as a valuable source of information and a masterpiece in our literature. The *Essays* and *Advancement of Learning*, by Aldis Wright, and the *Novum Organum*, by Fowler, both issued by the Clarendon Press, should be specially noticed as reliable editions of the individual works of Bacon; while quite recently the labours of Dean Church, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Sidney Lee, and some others are deservedly appreciated by all.

BACON'S LITERARY FRIENDS

AND THEIR RELATION TO HIS WORK

THOUGH it would appear that the friends of Bacon visited him from time to time both at York House and Gorhambury, we are able to glean from contemporary records very little accurate information as to these gatherings, or who actually took part in them. We may, however, conjecture from repeated personal allusions in his letters that only a few privileged companions enjoyed such hospitality; and as we notice the effect produced by Bacon's various publications as they appeared, and the assistance rendered by those most attached to him, we have an additional opportunity of forming an opinion as to this.

Of these faithful students and admirers, such names as Rawley, Tobie Mathew, and Jonson at once occur to us. These men had watched Bacon's career during a great portion of his life, often rendering him signal service; and, therefore, it is through them that much valuable and interesting information has been handed down to us. In this connexion, too, there are others whose influence and character bore directly on his work.

William Rawley was intimately associated with Bacon during the most active period of his life. Graduating at Cambridge in 1606, and afterwards receiving the fellow-

ship of Corpus Christi College, he later on was appointed to the rectorship of Bowthorpe, Norfolk (1612). It was about this time that he met Bacon, who exerted his influence in obtaining for him the living at Landbeach. He was made a Doctor of Divinity in 1621, having previously become private chaplain to Bacon. From this time he takes every opportunity of assisting his friend in the preparation and publication of some of his ablest works. Many of the prefaces and dedications were written by him; for instance, the preface to the *New Atlantis* in 1627; and likewise we may notice on the title page of the *De Augmentis* when it first appeared the announcement "cura et fide Giul: Rawley." The works published by him were:—

Sylva Sylvarum and *New Atlantis* (1627); *Certaine Miscellany Works* (1629); *Operum Moralium et Civilium* (1638); *Resuscitatio* (1657), which contained a *Life of Bacon;* and *Opuscula Varia Posthuma Philosophica Civilia et Theologica* (1658).

As these works were completed Rawley presented copies of them to Corpus Christi College, and we read that he bequeathed also to the same institution Camden's *Britannia* as well as the works of Cicero and Plato.

It is interesting to notice Rawley's private opinion of Bacon's character, and a few extracts from his *Life* as it appears in the *Resuscitatio* best illustrate this. After referring to his early life, his marriage, and his works, he further adds:—

"There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues as to the course of his life. Those

abilities which commonly go single in other men, though of prime and observable parts, were all conjoined and met in him. Those are, *sharpness of wit, memory, judgment,* and *elocution.* For the former three his books do abundantly speak them; which with what sufficiency he wrote, let the world judge; but with what celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the fourth, his *elocution,* I will only set down what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of him by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted), *That the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton* (*the Lord Henry Howard*) *was an excellent penman, but no good speaker; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.*

"I have been induced to think, that if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him. For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds and notions from within himself; which, notwithstanding, he vented with great caution and circumspection. His book of *Instauratio Magna* (which in his own account was the chiefest of his works) was no slight imagination or fancy of his brain, but a settled and concocted notion, the production of many years' labour and travel. I myself have seen at the least twelve copies of the *Instauration,* revised year by year one after another, and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof, till at last it came to that model in which it was committed to the press; as many living creatures do lick their young ones, till they bring them to their strength of limbs.

"In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal. And if his style were polite, it was because he would do no otherwise. Neither was he given to any light conceits or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them; for he held such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.

"He was no plodder upon books; though he read much, and that with great judgment, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors; for he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation; and yet he would lose no time, inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

"His meals were refections of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the *Noctes Atticae* or *Convivia Deipnosophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I have known some, of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of their note-books, when they have risen from his table. In which conversations, and otherwise, he was no dashing man, as some men are, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech

wholly to himself, or delight to outvie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on, and allure him to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was particularly skilful, and would delight to speak. And for himself, he contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

". . . This is most true; he was free from malice; which (as he said himself) *he never bred nor fed.* He was no revenger of injuries; which if he had minded, he had both opportunity and place high enough to have done it. He was no heaver of men out of their places, as delighting in their ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his prince. One day, when a great statesman was newly dead, that had not been his friend, the King asked him, *What he thought of that lord which was gone?* he answered, *That he would never have made His Majesty's estate better, but he was sure he would have kept it from being worse;* which was the worst he would say of him: which I reckon not among his moral, but his Christian virtues."

In the year 1626, immediately after the death of Bacon, Rawley published a small tract containing a number of Latin verses to the memory of his departed friend. These were by different authors, and among them we find one by George Herbert. The title page of this quarto ran as follows: *Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci Baronis de Verulamio vicecomitis Sancti Albani Sacrum.*

Rawley died at Landbeach at the age of seventy-eight years, and was buried there.

Tobie Mathew was of all Bacon's literary associates probably the most trusted and the one in whom he at all times placed the greatest confidence. He was the son of the Archbishop of York, and was born at Salisbury in 1577. During his residence at Christ Church, Oxford, his career as a student gave much promise, and he was accepted as a "noted orator and disputant," as well as a universal favourite. It was about the year 1601, when he became member of Parliament for Newport in Cornwall, that he first met Bacon, and he very soon became closely attached to him. In a letter to the King at this time Bacon describes him as "a very worthy and rare young gentleman." A little later, when Bacon represented Ipswich in Parliament, Mathew succeeded him as member for St. Albans. Whilst travelling in Italy during the year 1606, through the influence of a persevering Jesuit, he embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and though on his return to England he attempted to keep his conversion a secret from all, Bacon soon became aware of it, and at once communicated the fact to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who did all in his power to show Mathew the error of his ways. He was not moved, however, by such intervention, and not obeying the King's command to take the oath, was soon committed as a prisoner to the Fleet, there remaining for six weeks. While in custody Bacon frequently dispatched letters to him, and he was allowed frequent visits from his friends. During the Plague epidemic (1608) some measure of freedom was granted, and very soon after, owing chiefly to the intervention of Bacon, his release was obtained absolutely. Being permitted to proceed

again on his travels abroad, he made his way to Madrid, and it was here that he received from Bacon a copy of the *Advancement of Learning*, and a little later his *De Sapientia Veterum*. He remained on the Continent till the year 1617, and on his return to England visited Bacon at Gorhambury. He again became the affectionate companion of his old friend, and the following year issued the Italian translation of his *Essays* and the *Wisdom of the Ancients* in one volume. It is interesting to note that in the second edition of this translation (1619) we find the Essay *On Seditions and Troubles*, and it was not until the complete edition of all the Essays was published in 1625 that this appeared in English. After two years, Mathew was once again forced to leave the country, on account of his renewed refusal to take the Allegiance Oath. He seems to have then spent much of his time in Brussels, occupying himself with various translations, and it was from here that he wrote to Bacon on *Spanish Affairs*. During the year 1621 he was again permitted to return to London through the good offices of Lord Bristol, and a knighthood was conferred upon him by James the First in 1623.

When the Earl of Strafford proceeded to Ireland on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, Sir Tobie accompanied him, and it was very soon suspected that he was taking serious steps to procure the advancement of the Catholics; indeed, it was thought that he acted as a spy from the Church of Rome, and he himself, knowing that his movements were closely watched, hurriedly left for Ghent at the time of the Rebellion. There he died in the year 1655.

Such was Bacon's confidence in the opinion and criticism of Mathew that he often communicated with him on the subjects and matter of his works, and he would accompany the presentation copies to him with affectionate letters which well illustrate the terms on which they constantly lived. For instance, when sending him the *Wisdom of the Ancients*, he ends his note thus: "This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend, and so with my wonted wishes, I leave you to God's goodness. From Gray's Inn. Feb: 27. 1610."

Reference should be made to an important manuscript which was dispatched to him by Bacon at the time he was visiting Florence. It was one of those early fragments intended to initiate his doctrines, afterwards to be included in his great work of the *Instauration*, and styled the *Redargutio Philosophiarum*. This is termed by Dean Church as "perhaps the most brilliant, and also the most insolently unjust and unthinking piece of rhetoric ever composed by him." It was accompanied by the following letter to Sir Tobie Mathew:—

"I send you at this time the only part which hath any harshness; and yet I framed to myself an opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that preface which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike, this other speech of preparation; for it is written out of the same spirit, and out of the same necessity. Nay it doth more fully lay open that the question between me and the ancients is

not of the virtue of the race, but of the rightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other but as *palma* to *pugnus*, part of the same thing more large. . . . Myself am like the miller of Huntingdon, that was wont to pray for peace amongst the willows; for while the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was less customed. So I see that controversies against religion must hinder the advancement of sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards yourself, that the approbation of yourself by your own discreet and temperate carriage, may restore you to your country, and your friends to your society. And so I commend you to God's goodness.

"Gray's Inn, this 10th of October 1609."

In addition to other acts of regard, Bacon dedicated his Essay *On Friendship* to him. It has been said that he was "the most trusted of all Bacon's friends," and judging from the fact that many of the finest literary performances were subjected to his approval, this would appear to be quite the truth. That there was a cordial harmony of feeling on Mathew's part there can be no doubt, and among his eulogiums one may be quoted: "It is not his greatness I admire, but his virtue. It is not the favours I have received of him that have enthralled and enchained my heart, but his whole life and character; which are such that, if he were of an inferior condition, I could not honour him the less, and if he were my enemy, I should not the less love and endeavour to serve him."

Altogether the life of Tobie Mathew was a very full and long one, and, in addition to other occupations,

much of it was spent in Church controversy, and on general matters of Catholic interest.

Benjamin Jonson claimed as his friends, not only many of the poets and dramatists of his day, including Shakespeare, Drayton, Fletcher, Chapman, etc., but also such lights in prose literature as Camden, Selden, and Bacon. It may therefore not be out of place to remind my readers of a few incidents in the life of this illustrious contemporary. He was born in Westminster not far from the sacred Abbey which contains the tablet bearing the words "O rare Ben Jonson!"—this "time-worn stone" marking the resting-place of the great thinker and poet. A few days after his birth (1574) his father died, and as Benjamin grew into a strong and able lad he was obliged to toil as a young bricklayer among the ordinary workmen. He had previously attended Westminster School for a short time, and it is presumed that he was taken away from this when his mother married again. Serving for a time as a soldier, he afterwards entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he remained for a short time—how long is uncertain. He next appeared on the stage of a theatre at Clerkenwell, but he did not make a success of this, and soon altogether dropped this vocation. It was not long, however, before he became famous; for the production of *Every Man in his Humour*, in which William Shakespeare appeared as one of the actors, at once established his reputation. Jonson wrote many comedies and tragedies; among the former may be specially mentioned *The Alchemist* and *Volpone*, and of the latter, perhaps the finest are his *Cataline* and

Sejanus. All of these, fifty-two in number, were afterwards published together in a small folio (1616), but his *Poems* were not issued till the year 1640.

It has been said that he not infrequently assisted Bacon in the production of some of his works. One must admit that there is much uncertainty as regards this. It does seem probable, however, that he took some part in the translation of *Henry the Seventh.* That he was a great admirer of Bacon we have ample evidence, and indeed this is apparent from his own statements. We have already seen that his public speeches were much appreciated and lauded by him, and we may infer from Jonson's attitude towards him that they had frequent opportunities of meeting privately as well.

Reference has also been made to the one convivial occasion which probably outstripped all others in interest and magnificence, namely, the celebration at York House of Bacon's sixtieth birthday, and an extract from the poem then composed by Jonson has already been cited; but it may, in this connexion, be quoted in full:—

"Hail, happy Genius of this ancient pile!
How comes it all things so about thee smile?
The fire, the wine, the men! and in the midst
Thou stand'st as if some mystery thou didst!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whose returns, and many, all these pray;
And so do I. This is the sixtieth year,
Since Bacon, and thy lord, was born, and here;
Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal,

Fame and foundation of the English weal.
What then his father was, that since is he,
Now with a title more to the degree;
England's high Chancellor: the destined heir,
In his soft cradle, to his father's chair:
Whose even thread the fates spun round and full,
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.
'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,
For 'twere a narrow gladness, kept thine own.
Give me a deep-crowned bowl, that I may sing,
In raising him, the wisdom of my king."

George Herbert must have been a confidant for whom Bacon had the greatest regard and affection. Born at Montgomery Castle in Wales in the year 1593, he had the benefit of a high moral training at the hands of a good mother, and he early in life showed a marked inclination towards the study of divinity. After leaving Westminster School he proceeded to Cambridge, graduating there in 1612. He became an accomplished scholar and good musician, and his contributions to poetry very soon placed him in the foremost rank among the literary circles of his day. Soon after his appointment as Deputy Orator at Cambridge, he was advanced, chiefly through the influence of Sir Francis Nethersole, to the full Oratorship at the University, a post he had long coveted. In this capacity he was necessarily brought into contact with court officials, and others of distinction. It was then that he made the acquaintance of Bacon, and we find him expressing a tribute of gratitude to his new friend in one of his orations, on the bestowal of the *Instauratio* to the University of

Cambridge. Herbert, as a man and a poet, was as much appreciated in his own day as he is at the present time. He counted as his admirers and friends such writers as Crashaw, Vaughan, and Donne; and the revered Izaak Walton not only delighted to quote his poetry, but bequeathed to us a description of his Life for which we shall ever be grateful. Speaking of his *Temple*, Walton says: "It is a Book in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected soul, and charmed them with sweet and quiet thoughts."

Bacon, in referring to the translations into Latin of his *Henry the Seventh* and the *Essays*, says that the work was performed "by some good pens that do not forsake me," and by this he is supposed to refer to the assistance rendered by Herbert, Selden, and Ben Jonson.

The Dedication of his *Psalms into Verse* runs as follows: "To my very good Friend—Mr. George Herbert —The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I cannot forget, which did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought, that in respect of divinity and poesy met, whereof the one is the matter, and the other the style of this little writing, I could not make better choice: so, with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest your affectionate friend.

Fr. St. Alban."

Herbert died in the year 1633, at the early age of forty.

Dr. Lancelot Andrews was a very prominent divine and great favourite in the reign of Elizabeth. After completing his collegiate course at Cambridge, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and acted in a like capacity to Archbishop Whitgift. He afterwards became Dean of Westminster and Privy Councillor for England and Scotland. Finally, he was further honoured by being made successively, Bishop of Ely, Chichester, and Winchester.

Being a man of unusual intellectual gifts, he was selected to assist in the preparation of the Authorized Version of the Bible. His scholarly mind and able preaching were later on much appreciated by King James, who held him in high esteem also for "his social qualities and rare sense of humour."

His best-known work, written in Latin, was entitled *Tortura Torti*. Besides this he published many sermons which were edited by Laud and Buckeridge. Most of the prayers composed by him are well known, and those for special use in the consecration of churches are still employed.

He saw very much of Bacon, and we may infer that he was intimately associated with him during his whole life. They died in the same year—1626, the Bishop having reached the age of seventy-one years.

Bacon was in the habit of seeking his advice on various philosophical subjects relating to his works, and in the *Miscellany Works*, published in 1629, appears a long letter from Bacon to him, pertaining more especially to the *Instauration*, and he adds in this: "I have also entered into a work touching Laws." He alludes to the *Reign of Henry the Seventh* in the following

words: "So now being (as I am) no more able to do my Country service, it remained unto me to do it honour, which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the *Reign of King Henry the Seventh.*" "As for my *Essays*," he adds, "and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort of purpose to continue them, though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement (perhaps), yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand. But I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be not an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him."

The literary fragment which Bacon has left on an *Advertisement touching an Holy War* contains a dedication to Bishop Andrews; and in a letter accompanying the presentation of a copy of the *Cogitata et Visa* one finds the following remarks: "And because you were wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation's fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpose. . . . If your lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is not by pricks, but by notes, you should mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you either not current in the style, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer; for no man can be judge and party: and when our minds judge by reflection of ourselves they are more subject to error. . . ."

Sir Thomas Meautys. Special mention should be

made of the name of Bacon's devoted secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys, who was at all times brought more into intimate association with him than any of the others that have been noticed. As will be readily understood, much correspondence passed between them on many important occasions, and it would be almost impossible to make special comments on this, but as illustrating the affectionate regard which Meautys entertained for his master, the final portion of one of his letters may be quoted :—

"And now, my good lord, if anything make me diffident, or indeed almost indifferent how it succeeds, it is this ; that my sole ambition having ever been, and still is, to grow up only under your lordship, it is become preposterous, even to my nature and habit, to think of prospering or receiving any growth, either without or besides your lordship. And, therefore, let me claim of your lordship to do me this right, as to believe that which my heart says, or rather swears to me, namely, that what addition soever, by God's good providence comes at any time to my life or fortune, it is, in my account, but to enable me the more to serve your lordship in both ; at whose feet I shall ever humbly lay down all that I have, or am, never to rise thence other than

"Your lordship's in all duty and reverent affections,

"T. MEAUTYS.

"September 11. 1622."

He continued to manifest his love and loyalty in every way and after Bacon's death erected a fitting

monument to him in St. Michael's Church, bearing an appropriate inscription composed by Sir Henry Wotton.

The body of Sir Thomas Meautys was afterwards buried close to this monument, a suitable resting-place for one who "loved and admired Bacon in life and honoured him when dead." By a special clause in Bacon's will he was left £500, and we find that, though not previously appointed as one of the administrators, he afterwards acted with Sir Robert Rich in that capacity, as those legally deputed refused to accept the responsibility.

Sir Thomas Bodley, whose name will always be gratefully remembered and honoured as the founder of the great library at Oxford, was born at Exeter in the year 1545. The early years of his life were spent principally in Geneva, owing to the fact that his father was obliged to leave England in the reign of Queen Mary on account of his Protestant views. Here in his youth he studied under Calvin, Beza, and Constantine, receiving careful tuition from these authorities in Divinity and Greek. When Elizabeth came to the throne he returned to England with his parents and entered Magdalen College, Oxford; in 1564 he became a Fellow of Merton College, having taken his degree in arts the year previously. He subsequently spent several years on the Continent, becoming thoroughly proficient in the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. He was selected to transact some very important diplomatic business in Denmark in 1585, and this was carried out in such a manner as to give much satis-

faction to the Queen, who continued to grant him her confidence in various matters of state. Indeed, his ability in conducting missions of unusual difficulty, more especially in connexion with foreign embassies, was acknowledged by all in authority, and he was afterwards admitted as a member of the Council of State. He relinquished all public duty in 1596. Soon after this the idea occurred to him that the restoration of the public library at Oxford—"which then in every part lay ruined and waste"—was an urgent necessity. His efforts were assisted by the University itself, and outside help was promptly forthcoming; so that although "the timber works of the house were rotten and had to be new made," the building was successfully conducted. Many volumes of rare books were gratuitously presented, and those newly published were supplied by the Stationers' Company. Bodley's exertions in collecting books of interest, both from the Continent and at home, together with the care and discrimination he used in their selection, resulted in the formation of a library which stands not only as a worthy monument to himself, but a treasure-house of literature for which we cannot be too thankful. This, "the first public library in Europe," was opened by the King on the 8th November, 1603. Bodley died in the year 1613, and was buried in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford.

It should be added that he received his knighthood from James the First soon after his accession.

Bacon was in the habit of submitting his treatises to Bodley for his criticism and opinion, and on these occasions each work was accompanied by a letter from

him. Among the earlier items which were to form the framework of the great *Instauration* was the one already referred to—the *Cogitata et Visa*—and this was dispatched to Bodley for his usual examination. Sir Thomas afterwards wrote Bacon a letter "wherein he declareth his opinion freely touching the same," and some of his critical remarks were not favourable or altogether to the liking of the author. In the post-script to his letter we read: "One kind of boldness doth draw on another, insomuch, as me thinks I should offend not to signifie, that before the transcript of your Book be fitted for the Presse, it will be requisite for you to cast your eye upon the stile, which in the fraiming of some periods, and in divers words and pharases, will hardly go current. . . ."

It would appear by the tone of one of Bacon's letters at this time that Bodley's opinion was not of much value to him, and it has been suggested that Bacon looked to him more for books than *ideas.* One can only say that Bacon's other conduct towards his friend hardly substantiates this view; for instance, on the presentation of the *Advancement of Learning*, he thought it right to state in his accompanying letter, after alluding to the dedication to the King: "The second copy I have sent unto you, not only in good affection, but a kind of congruity, in regard of your great and rare desert of learning; for books are the shrines where the saint is, or is believed to be, and you having built an ark, to save learning from Deluge, deserve, in propriety, any new instrument or engine, whereby learning should be improved or advanced."

Let us now refer to two foreign correspondents with whom Bacon remained in friendly intercourse, through his letters, almost up to the time of his death, viz. the *Fathers Fulgentio* and *Baranzano.* The former was a Venetian divine in whom he was much interested, and among the letters to this worthy there is one of special value, for in it Bacon sketches out pretty fully the plan of his great undertaking—the *Instauratio*—and expresses his disappointment in that he has "given up all hope" of ever seeing the full accomplishment of his philosophic scheme. After alluding to his own health in the opening passage, Bacon continues: "I wish to make known to your Reverence my intentions with regard to the writings which I meditate and have in hand; not hoping to perfect them, but desiring to try, and because I work for posterity; these things requiring ages for their accomplishment. I have thought it best, to have all of them translated into Latin, and divided into volumes. The first volume consists of the books concerning the *Advancement of Learning*, and this, as you know, is already finished and published, and includes the partitions of the sciences, which is the first part of my *Instauration.* The *Novum Organum* should have followed: but I interposed my moral and political writings as being nearer already. These are: First, the *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh of England*, after which will follow the little book, which in your language, you have called *Saggi Morali.* But I give it a weightier name, entitling it *Faithful Discourses—or the Inwards of Things.* But these discourses will be both increased in number, and much enlarged in the treatment. The same

volume will contain also my little book on the *Wisdom of the Ancients.* And this volume (as I said) interposed, not being a part of the *Instauration.* After this will follow the *Novum Organum,* to which there is still a second part to be added—but I have already compassed and planned it out in my mind. And in this manner the second part of the *Instauration* will be completed. As for the third part, namely the *Natural History,* that is plainly a work for a King or Pope, or some college order: and cannot be done as it should be by a private man's industry. And those portions which I have published concerning *Winds,* and concerning *Life and Death,* are not history pure: because of the Axioms, and greater observations that are interposed: but a kind of writing mixed of natural history and a rude and imperfect intellectual machinery; which is the fourth part of the *Instauration.* Next, therefore, will come to the fourth part itself: Wherein will be shown many examples of this machine, more exact and more applied to the rules of induction. In the fifth place will follow the book which I have entitled the *Precursors of the Second Philosophy,* which will contain my discoveries concerning new axioms, suggested by the experiments themselves: that they may be raised as it were and set up, like pillars that were on the ground. And this I have set down as the fifth part of my *Instauration.* Last comes the *Second Philosophy* itself—the sixth part of the *Instauration,* of which I have given up all hope but it may be that the ages and posterity will make it flourish. Nevertheless in the *Precursors*—those I mean which touch upon the universalities of nature—no slight foundations of this will be laid. . . ." He signs himself "Your Reverence's most devoted friend, FR. S. ALBAN."

Soon after the publication of the *Novum Organum*, among the many literary and congratulatory communications which Bacon received from various sources, there was one of considerable importance from *Father Redemptus Baranzano*, who was a professor of philosophy and mathematics at Anneci. This letter has unfortunately not been preserved, but it is said to have been of a most interesting character, containing inquiries as to the method and principles of the Inductive process, already sketched out. We have Bacon's answer, however, and I will now add some portions of it:—

"London, 1622. . . . I have read your letter with pleasure, and since between lovers of truth ardour begets candour, I will return to your ingenuous questions an ingenuous reply. I do not propose to give up syllogism altogether. Syllogism is incompetent for the principal things rather than useless for the generality. . . . In the Mathematics there is no reason why it should not be employed. Be not troubled about the Metaphysics. When true Physics have been discovered there will be no Metaphysics. Beyond the true Physics is divinity only."

Bacon then points out when and how Syllogism may be applied—his desire for a Natural History "out of which philosophy may be built," and expresses a wish that he may have "fit assistants"; suggesting that Baranzano should prepare a "History of the Heavens, in which only the phenomena themselves, and the different Astronomical instruments, with their uses, and then the principal and most celebrated hypotheses

both ancient and modern, and at the same time the exact calculations of the periodic returns, and other things of that kind, shall be set forth plainly and simply, without any doctrine or theory whatever. And, if to this History of the Heavens, you will add a History of Comets (concerning the composition of which I send herewith certain articles and as it were particular topics), you will have erected a truly magnificent frontispiece for Natural History, and done the greatest service to the Instauration of the Sciences, and a very great favour to myself." He then speaks of the translation of the *Advancement of Learning*, and alludes to the fact of having seen the published works of Baranzano. This youthful and gifted Father died very soon after, at the age of thirty-three; and a correspondence which would, no doubt, have proved most useful to Bacon and valuable to us all was suddenly cut short.

Some correspondence passed between Bacon and his cousin *Sir Henry Wotton* on different occasions, but on the whole this was of no special interest. Sir Henry, as an accomplished man of letters, appreciated very highly the work of his learned relative, and no doubt would be eager to possess his publications as they appeared. When the *Novum Organum* was issued Bacon sent three copies to him, and on the receipt of them, Wotton writes: "I have by the care of my cousin Mr. Thomas Meautys, and by your own special favour, three copies of that work wherewith your lordship hath done a great, and ever-living benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herself in her uttermost extent of latitude; who never before, had so noble,

nor so true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet. . . ." Specimens of Bacon's poetry were also found among Wotton's papers after his death, and these were subsequently published in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* in the year 1651.

In addition to these contemporaries there were a few others who were more or less personally interested in the literary work of Bacon.

John Selden and *Thomas Hobbes* are supposed to have occasionally assisted him; the former, on one occasion at least, gave him the benefit of his opinion as to the judgments of the House of Lords, and he is reported to have expressed the sentiment that "never was any man more willing or ready to do your lordship's service than myself."

That both he and Hobbes aided Bacon in the rendering of some of his translations, more especially with those of the *Essays* and *Henry the Seventh*, seems pretty certain, but it is difficult to produce definite evidence on this point.

Finally, the name of *Sir John Constable*, Bacon's brother-in-law, should be mentioned in this connexion, for it will be remembered that the edition of the *Essays* "imprinted at London by John Beale 1612" was dedicated to him; and he was afterwards appointed one of Bacon's executors, receiving the valuable legacy of all his books.

From what has been said it will be obvious that the part played by the friends of Bacon, both in the production of his works and in his actual literary advance-

ment, was very considerable. We have already observed how in his political life the good offices of those whom he selected for special purposes were utilized to the full in order to gratify an ambition in state affairs; and as we now turn to his successes in literature we are impressed with the fact that, with the same keen discrimination, he chose those as coadjutors who were best able to advance his interests in this special department. Indeed, as we have seen in his writings, he makes no attempt to conceal this. At the same time it would be far from the truth to assert that he only associated himself with those loyal friends on account of their ability and readiness to render him assistance in such work. Bacon at all times carefully determined the means at his disposal for the accomplishment of the ends he had in view, and he was fortunate to include among his companions those who considered it a privilege and honour to benefit him on every possible occasion. They were thus endeared to him on account of the appreciation they showed for his labours no less than by the trust and confidence he was able to enjoy. He understood well the value of friends, including the conditions and means whereby they could be most profitably employed for his designs, and, in addition, wisely anticipated the future in those practical words in his essay on *Friendship:* "Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him."

He had the happy satisfaction of possessing such

friendships as enabled him to say that "no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession"; and the effect of such fellowship is beautifully rendered when he writes: "For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more, and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friends but he grieveth the less." With characteristic and dramatic abruptness he closes this learned discourse with the impressive aphorism, "If a man have not a friend he may quit the stage."

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